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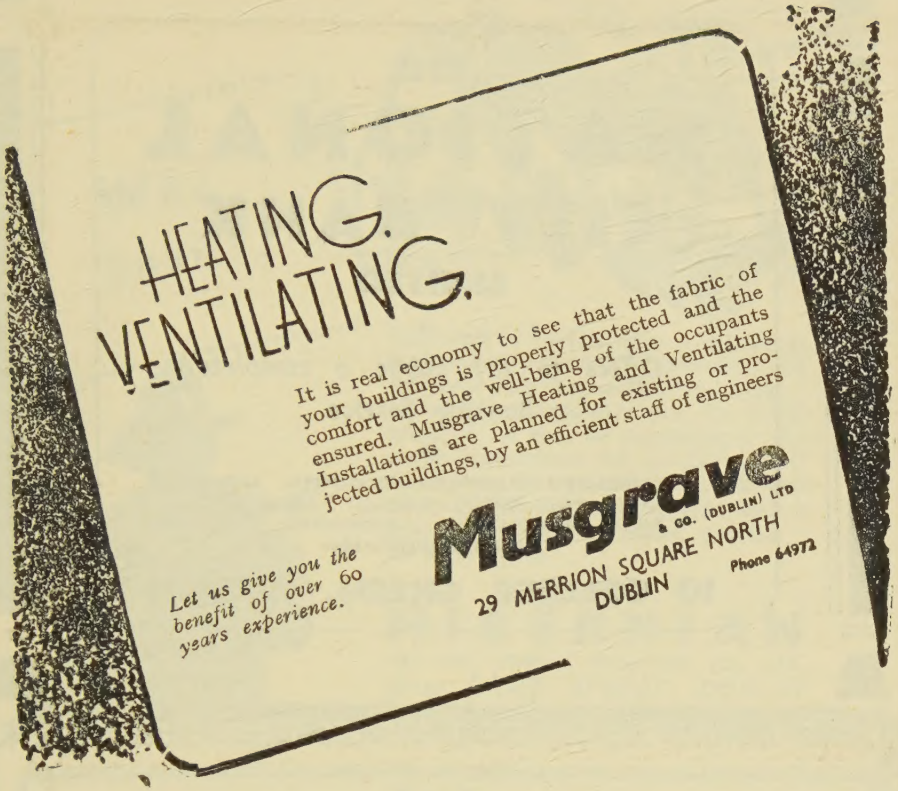
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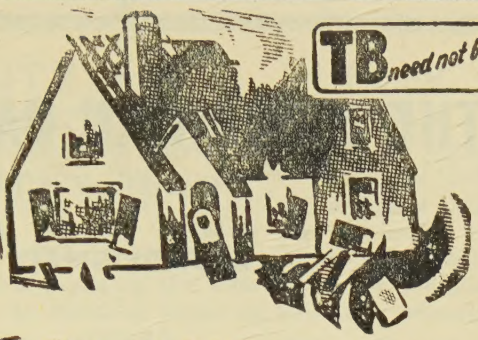

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THE DISINTEGRATION OF CATHOLIC EUROPE[1]

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"THIS is a history, very largely, of revolt; not, that is to say, of disobedience only, even on the grand scale, but of the denial of an authority's right to obedience. . . . . We face the spectacle of revolt in the name of law, in the name of thought, in the name, even, of *la vie mystique*; . . . . and, maybe, when Luther himself arrives our one surprise will be that he comes so late."

With these challenging sentences Father Philip Hughes introduces a narrative that begins with the death of St. Louis of France in 1270 and ends with Luther's ninety-seven theses of September 4, 1517. Less than two and a half centuries in measure of time; but how vast has been the distance covered by European thought within that period! Thomas Aquinas was still alive and in the full vigour of his intellectual powers when Louis of France died in the camp before Tunis: Dante had been born just five years before that date. These three names are still the very symbol of a Christendom, still united, still conscious of its plenitude, still capable of fresh intellectual conquests as it was still eager for a new advance against the Saracen and the infidel. Yet Aquinas was dead less than a generation when the Schools, in which he had fashioned the great harmony of his Summa Theologica, began to disintegrate; and Dante lived, a bitter and partisan exile from his native Florence, to contemplate the total breakdown of the medieval Papacy as a temporal power and the final disappearance as a possible rallying-point for united Christendom of that half-visionary Empire which was his life's dream.

There is thus a dramatic fitness in the moment which Father Hughes has chosen for the opening of his great drama. "A world of effort, of sacrifice, and of suffering had gone for just nothing; and something unique had passed from a singularly troubled world. The one leader whom, for his righteousness, all Christendom might have trusted, was dead." Yet this concentration on the passing of a saintly king conceals a deeper and more fundamental cause of the *malaise* which was to become more and more plainly visible in European life during the next two centuries. There is no single moment at which the medieval German Empire can be said to have passed from the scene of European Christendom. The long death-throes of its final agony run right through the mortal struggle between Pope and Emperor in the reign of Frederic II (*Stupor Mundi*); they drag on even into the brief and futile effort by his son Manfred to regain what

[1] *A History of the Church.* Vol. III. The Revolt against the Church: Aquinas to Luther. By Philip Hughes. London: Sheed and Ward. 1947. 25s.

had been lost by this last and most astounding of the Hohenstaufen Emperors. Father Hughes may thus plead the convenience of a memorable date and the coincidence that St. Louis' death came at a moment when the Church was forced, by the selfish policy of worldly-minded Cardinals, to endure the humiliating misery of a vacancy in the Holy See that lasted for full three years (1268–71). None the less, these are accidental causes, more or less inevitable in every human system of government. Deeper by far was the injury inflicted on medieval Christendom by the sudden disappearance—complete henceforth for all practical purposes—of that dualism between Empire and Papacy which had bodied forth for so many generations of Christian men the essential dualism of all Christian society: the two swords, temporal and spiritual; priesthood and kingship; the sun and the moon (to use Hildebrand's metaphor), each revolving in its distinct but co-ordinate sphere. Even though the Tunisian fevers had not broken the thread of St. Louis' life in 1270, his singular personal pre-eminence among Christian princes could not for long have concealed the deeper truth that the Papacy, now weakened by the destruction of its dangerously ambitious temporal counterpart, was forced to look elsewhere for the support of temporal power. But the support of any temporal prince or king must mean a new and far more uneasy alliance with one or other of the new national monarchies that were being consolidated amid the ruins of what had once been—in theory, though never in actual fact—the ideal *Imperium* of Dante's thought, the embodiment in a carefully balanced political structure of a Christendom one and undivided.

France, for this very reason, holds the central position right through the whole of that period of transition and new birth which is the period covered by Father Hughes in his new volume. Here and there, as in this first opening episode, one may perhaps complain that he has been unduly dependent on French sources for the facts of his narrative. Germany on the one side; more surprisingly, England on the other; Spain, with her noble record of long wars against the Muslim, the Spain of Isabella and Ximenes; the lesser countries on the fringes of Europe, not least among them our own: all these fall somewhat into the background as Father Hughes concentrates his attention on the drama of France's challenge to Papal authority in the days of Boniface VIII, on the "Babylonish captivity" of the Avignon period, on the part played by French Cardinals and French theologians in the pitiful tragedy of the Great Schism, on the growing stream of Gallicanism that was to perpetuate for so many centuries France's discontent with the recovery of effective Papal power, on the significance of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) and the Concordat of 1516. Even when the scene shifts to Italy, that most unhappy of European countries in this period of broken loyalties and bitter local feuds is seen to suffer from the futile but restless ambitions of French rulers. By a curiously strange irony, the first (and by no means the least troublesome)

of these French meddlers was the younger brother of St. Louis himself, that Charles of Anjou whose grasping policy led to the swift and bloody retribution of the Sicilian Vespers. Two centuries later there is the drama of Savonarola, that incongruous spectacle of a Dominican friar inviting a French army to invade Italy and assume the role of an avenging angel, sent by God's Providence to smite a sinful Pope ; whilst the story ends, so far as this volume is concerned, with the French invasion of 1516, Francis I's short-lived victory at Milan, and the more permanent achievement of his Concordat, by which a defeated and out-manoeuvred Pope granted to France's rulers that firm control of the French episcopate which was to have disastrous effects on the French Church under Louis XIV and Louis XV.

I have said that Father Hughes tends to ignore, or leaves in the background, the parallel development of these same tendencies in the history of his own country. Much may be forgiven to an author whose subject compels him to grapple with so many complicated issues as are to be met, and must be faced, by any historian of the late Middle Ages. Yet it seems odd to me that Father Hughes has not shaken himself more free from the weight of his French authorities, and has not set himself to tell, for English readers in particular, a story that is so full of practical lessons in the Catholic interpretation of their own nation's history. English school text-books, old and new, are challenge enough to justify the enterprise ! That Father Hughes should make no effort to grapple with the endless complications of medieval Irish history is less surprising and needs no apology. No narrative of European history could be well balanced, if much space was given to such complexities. None the less, an Irish reader may be pardoned for noting that Ireland is not mentioned in the (very inadequate) index to this volume ; and the one definite statement that I have found as to the actual position here in Ireland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is so wildly inaccurate that I shall comment on it in greater detail towards the close of this essay.

The conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair marks the sudden transition from the medieval conception of kingship, which is so apparent in the whole life and policy of St. Louis, to the very much more modern and legalistic conception of statecraft which was the inspiration of his grandson and of Philip's ministers : Pierre Flotte, Guillaume Nogaret and the rest of that unlovely crew. Father Hughes tells the story in detail and with real power. He has the advantage of being able to follow two exceptionally able French monographs on this dramatic episode in French history : Digard's posthumous two volumes on Philip the Fair and the Holy See (a work to which he had consecrated the best years of his life) and Rivière's fine study of the theological issues at stake in his *Le Problème de l'Eglise et de l'Etat au temps de Philippe le Bel*. But there is an English side to this story, which is essential for an adequate

understanding of the Pope's courageous defiance to the new rulers of Europe in his famous bull, *Clericis Laicos*. Father Hughes is plainly aware that the Pope was thinking as much of Edward I as of Philip in the opening phases of this memorable struggle, and (following Digard) he makes it plain that Boniface had grievously miscalculated the latent strength of lay-minded opposition from the French *légistes*. But he has preferred to concentrate his attention on the French side of this controversy, relegating the English aspect of the problem to a single footnote. So doing, he has been less than just to Pope Boniface, whom he portrays as plunging recklessly into a conflict where inevitable defeat awaited him ; and of weakening his own position by the excessive severity of his language in the official bull.

For some years past I have been accustomed to illustrate, for my students, this aspect of the story by a detailed recitation of the wrongs that had been inflicted on the long-suffering diocese and clergy of Dublin during the twenty-five years that preceded the publication of *Clericis Laicos*. The story makes such a catalogue of unscrupulous extortion and cynical indifference to the interests of the Church as goes far to explain the indignant remonstrances of a Pope who felt that it was time to call halt to these iniquities. (Busy man though he was during the nine years of his sorely troubled pontificate, Boniface found time to tackle the problem of Dublin's two chapters, each with its jealously guarded right of election, which made it so easy for the lay-power to prolong vacancies beyond all reasonable limits and to exploit the weakness of diocesan rule in the interests of the Dublin exchequer : the documents are still extant in the archives of Christ Church Cathedral). But Dublin is no more than a minor instance of Edward I's rapacity. There had been a stormy scene in London shortly before Boniface's election, when the Dean of St. Paul's, who had been deputed by the English clergy to state their grievances and petition for redress, dropped dead from fear of the royal anger which was Edward's reply to this remonstrance and petition. Father Hughes could have done more to win the sympathy of his readers for a very gallant stand against these encroachments of the lay-power by telling that story in full. Boniface VIII knew well what he was doing when he published *Clericis Laicos* in the spring of 1296. And he was very much more successful in his tussle with the English king than in either the first or second phase of his more grievous conflict with Philip of France. That the grandson of St. Louis (whom Boniface himself canonised, partly as a gesture of friendship to the French king, in the midst of these legal battles) should have been so stubborn and ruthless in opposition to the Pope's policy, seems to have first wounded, then infuriated the Pope who, as Cardinal and Nuncio, had conducted successful negotiations with the court of France.

One of the modern authors whom Father Hughes follows in these early chapters is M. Georges de Lagarde, whose two scholarly volumes on *La Naissance de l'Esprit Laique au déclin du Moyen Age* are full of suggestive

comments on these controversies. Within twenty years of the final clash between Nogaret and Boniface VIII at Anagni, Marsilius of Padua had composed his *Defensor Pacis* in Paris ; and had then fled for his life to the court of Lewis the Bavarian. Father Hughes has much to say, and says it with all his uncompromising courage, as to the increasingly bitter and unscrupulous campaign against the Church's power which marks the last years of the reign of Philip the Fair. Men like Flotte and Nogaret, perhaps more especially Nogaret whose ancestors had been Albigensian sectaries, were inspired by precisely the same anti-clerical hatreds that mark the modern champions of *l'état laique*. M. de Lagarde is unquestionably right when he sees in Guillaume Nogaret a precursor of Marsilius, whose anti-clerical doctrines make the *Defensor Pacis* seem so surprisingly modern to twentieth-century students. Yet, here again, there is danger of too much concentration on the French scene. Nogaret and those who planned the fantastic public trials of the dead Boniface VIII and the living Knights Templars had little to learn from our twentieth-century totalitarian rulers in the art of propaganda under the forms of legal justice. Marsilius, who was in Paris soon after these cynical legal farces, must have learned many lessons in so apt a school. But Professor Previté-Orton is unquestionably right in reminding us that Marsilius was, after all, by birth and education an Italian layman ; a citizen of Padua, which had never wholly lost the traditions of ancient Roman law ; and a native of that unhappy fourteenth-century Italy where men had so many reasons for blaming her misfortunes on the unending feud of Guelf and Ghibelline, of papal and anti-papal factions in every Italian town. Here, if anywhere, Marsilius learned the lesson that is the very centre of his doctrine : that the Church's organised power, unless it be wholly subjected to lay control, is a standing menace to the peace of Italy and of all Europe. " Defender of the Peace " : the very title of his work recalls that other title, " Defender of the Faith ", which has also had its strangely ironic history. Marsilius of Padua may seem remote from the age of Henry VIII. But one of the more instructive minor discoveries of Professor Previté-Orton was precisely the fact that Thomas Cranmer was a very diligent student of the *Defensor Pacis* at a time when England's " Defender of the Faith " was coming as near as any European king has ever come to realising the ideals set forth by Marsilius in his elaborate treatise.

Father Hughes is at his best when he is expounding the doctrinal background of these troubled times. The sub-title of his volume, " Aquinas to Luther ", marks one important quality of this very stimulating essay in Church History. The average English (or Irish) reader will learn much that will be new to him in the chapter which is devoted to " The Crisis in the World of Thought ", as a prelude to the survey of what came to pass in Europe during the years of the Babylonish Captivity at Avignon. The chapter is divided into two clear-cut sections : the first

dealing with the problem of Church and State, the second with the problem of Faith and Reason. M. Rivière's fine monograph is the basis of the former section, which passes from the influence of Thomist thought on men like Giles of Rome and James of Viterbo (the Pope's two principal advisers in the theological controversy that centres round *Unam Sanctam*) to the Augustinian theories of lordship put forward by these same two theologians ; then to the more " modern " speculations of a great French Dominican, Jean Quidort or John of Paris, whom Robert Bellarmine was later to salute as a forerunner of his own theories ; and, last but not least, to the bold idealism of Dante, whose *De Monarchia* still draws students for the sake of its strong thought and clear statement of principles, even though Dante, great as thinker and poet, lacked even the most rudimentary sense of historical criticism. Father Hughes follows Digard in his view that the *De Monarchia* belongs to the years of Dante's political activity in Florence and was thus written, quite literally, " nel mezzo del camin di nuostra vita " ; that is to say in the memorable year of grace 1300. Once again, English scholarship is here strangely ignored.

The section dealing with the problem of Faith and Reason is perhaps the most helpful in the whole volume. Father Hughes is a sound Thomist, and he views the decline of scholastic tradition quite frankly from the Thomist angle, or (to speak more accurately) from the central standpoint of Thomist Realism. With an insight that comes from his familiarity with the uncertainties and tragic failures of our own age, he insists in forceful language that this problem about the nature of faith and reason, and the relations between the two, " is one of the permanent practical anxieties of mankind". " Upon all men, sooner or later," he adds, " the hard experiences of life force this issue." Thomism, as he sees it, had given an answer to that problem in which men's minds found, or should have found, peace. " This teaching of St. Thomas left man's mind at peace with itself. Man was delivered from doubts about his power to know with certitude natural reality external to himself ; he was certain that he could know with certainty, by the use of his reasoning intelligence, not only facts but also general truths of the natural order. Beyond this sphere of the natural truths lay that other sphere of truths, about God as man's final destiny, unattainable by the merely finite, reasonable intelligence." Revelation gives us knowledge of these higher truths. Between these two ways of knowing there is no conflict : from the nature of the case there can be no conflict. And the essential link between these two spheres of knowledge is " reason's power to arrive, by its natural operations, at the sure knowledge that there is a God Who is the cause of all else that exists, and at an equally sure knowledge about several of the divine attributes".

Such is the Thomist solution to a problem that has always vexed and must always vex, the inquiring mind. In the fourteenth century,

even at first within the Dominican order itself, that solution failed to win final acceptance from the Schoolmen as a whole. St. Thomas was canonised in 1323 by John XXII, the Pope who is perhaps, of all these Frenchmen, most representative of the Avignonese system, for good and for evil. But the whole Thomist system had already by then been called in question by Henry of Ghent, a secular master of Paris; by John Duns Scotus, most brilliant of all Franciscan metaphysicians; and by William Ockham, another Friar Minor whose influence on late medieval thought was greater than that of any other teacher. Father Hughes has little to say as to the teaching of Henry of Ghent, whose conservative Augustinianism is perhaps of greater interest for the student of the thirteenth century; but he analyses in full the systems of Scotus and Ockham, and maintains that their unwillingness to accept the Thomist solution led them to speculations and new theories of knowledge which, for all their subtlety, were to have disastrous consequences in the last phase of medieval scholasticism. This volume ends with the challenge of Martin Luther's Wittenberg theses. The existence of a connecting link between Ockham, Biel and Luther's anti-rational theology has often been demonstrated by Luther's critics since the days of Father Heinrich Denifle. Duns Scotus, at the turn of the century, yielded much ground by his insistence on the critical examination of each isolated proof in the Thomist system and by his own marked preference for a voluntarist theory. Ockham went much farther on the road to scepticism. For him the individual is the one element in reality that can be apprehended by the human mind. Abstract knowledge is no more than a convenient nominalist system, lacking foundation in real nature. When faced with objections from the domain of dogmatic theology, the Oxford dialectician found an all too easy means of evasion in his disastrous theory of the double truth. Here indeed is the basis of much that passes for philosophy to-day.

Why did the Thomist system fail to establish itself as the common accepted doctrine of the Schools? Why was it necessary for the authorities of the Dominican Order to impose a rigorous censorship and control on the dogmatic teaching of their masters just at the time when Ockham's new logical subtleties were captivating the youth of Oxford and Paris? Father Hughes has no clear answer to give to questions of this kind; and indeed the sole convincing answer would seem to lie in the essentially imperfect nature of our human understanding. Equally difficult is the problem of Augustinian theology in this same fourteenth century. Why should the most gifted of all the Augustinian masters, Giles of Rome, who began his career as a favourite pupil of Aquinas himself, end by propounding theories of ecclesiastical authority that are quite obviously subversive of natural society? Father Hughes cites Cardinal Billot for the view that the doctrines of Giles and James of Viterbo can scarcely be defended by a modern theologian. Is it not possible to go farther and to maintain that the

central doctrine of Wyclif's anti-papal theory is derived, by a surprising twist of that very skilful dialectician, from the earlier doctrine of men whose avowed purpose was the defence or, rather, the excessive glorification of papal power? Again and again, in this story of fourteenth-century philosophical thought, one has the sense of coming disaster, due to the irresponsible exaggerations or extravagances of men whose thought was too largely formed in a school where the subtlety of formal logic was a constant temptation to extravagance and every other form of excess.

In his Preface Father Hughes names *la vie mystique* as one of the aspects of Catholic life in which the spirit of revolt from authority is apparent during this age of transition. Here we turn from France and Italy (for the mysticism of Saint Catherine of Siena, as compared with the mysticism of the earlier Franciscan Spirituals, was never a challenge to authority) towards the Northern nations: Germany, the Netherlands, England, Sweden. Once again, Father Hughes seems to me to have missed an opportunity of relating his story more closely to the life of Catholic England. No history of the fourteenth century could be complete without some account of the great German Dominican mystics, Eckhardt, Tauler and Henry Suso, or of Gerard de Groote and the *Devotio moderna*. Father Hughes writes finely of these great mystics, most helpfully of the *Devotio*. But why has be been content to list the names of English Catholic mystics (Richard Rolle, the unknown author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* and Juliana of Norwich) without any real effort to characterise their school? Why does he not point out how very much less the spirit of revolt is apparent in this remarkable group than in their German or Flemish contemporaries? After all, the stream of English mysticism lived on, especially in the convents, until the close of the Middle Ages; and Father Hughes will not need to be reminded of the undoubted connection between this age-old mystical tradition and some of the noblest English martyrs of the sixteenth century. Why has he not done something to reveal this hidden source of spiritual power?

I have, it must be admitted, little sympathy with the *Revelations* of that highly emotional visionary, St. Bridget of Sweden. Her name recurs again and again in our school text-books: she is so obvious a witness to cite in the damning indictment, that has become an accepted convention in our text-books, of all these Popes of the Avignon period. Father Hughes cites her more than once, too often for my taste—though he is careful to add a foot-note, warning his readers (if they read foot-notes) that a modern Redemptorist scholar sums up his impression as to the objective truth of the saint's *Revelations*: "One cannot escape the impression that Bridget intermingled with the gifts she received from Heaven a great part of her own burning imagination." To be frank, I feel that this volume is, on the whole, far too hard on the Popes of the Babylonish Captivity and the Popes of the Renaissance. Not that I would wish Father Hughes to

withhold any of his facts ; but he is aggressively sharp in his comments. And there is often a considerable weight of contrary evidence that is ignored, whilst space is given to the more glaring defects of the papal system.

To take an obvious example, this book contains a valuable summary of the financial system elaborated by John XXII and his successors, which undoubtedly did more than anything else to make the French Popes and French Cardinals of Avignon universally unpopular. But we hear little of the more positive work that many of these Popes achieved. The reform of the older religious orders by Benedict XII (himself a Cistercian monk) is singled out for praise by way of exception. But why is so little said of the remarkable work done by almost all these French Popes as patrons of the Universities of Europe ? Father Hughes has this sentence, for example, towards the end of his long chapter : " It was one great, and inexplicable, weakness of these Popes of the later Middle Ages that they never devised a system of training adequately the parochial clergy." True enough : the Church had to wait for the decrees of the Council of Trent before this problem was tackled on sufficiently clear lines to be successful. But the development of seminary education was less easy to foresee in an age which was still powerfully influenced by the immensely strong monastic traditions of an earlier generation. Popes like John XXII or Benedict XII or Urban V, had they been challenged on this issue, would almost certainly have pointed to the work they had done as patrons and founders of so many old and new *studia generalia ;* not only in France and Italy, but in Spain and Germany and Bohemia and Poland—and (nearer home) in Ireland. Here, according to the notions of the age, was the most obvious system of clerical education. Looking back on it now from the later experience of many centuries, we can see how defective the system was on the moral side. These *studia generalia* could so easily degenerate, as Paris and Oxford and Bologna were beginning to degenerate, into schools where ambitious men sought for the higher degrees that were the key to ecclesiastical preferment, whilst the great mass of the students, in the faculties of arts, law and theology, drifted aimlessly through a routine that was ceasing to be an inspiration, and were exposed to the temptations of ill-disciplined student-life in towns that were growing apace and were not growing more virtuous.

Yet I should like to quote here two passages from sermons preached by Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh—himself a singularly representative prelate of this age. Addressing his clergy in Drogheda at the opening of a provincial council, he urged them to follow the example of FitzRalph's own former patron, Benedict XII. Let them subscribe as a body to a diocesan fund which would enable the more promising students of the diocese to travel abroad (FitzRalph himself had gone as a young man from Dundalk to Oxford) and gain the higher education which was lacking

in Ireland. Here is a reminder that the clergy of the fourteenth century were not unaware of the needs of higher education; and FitzRalph, better than most men, knew how eagerly such studies were promoted by Popes such as John XXII and Benedict XII. In another sermon, which he preached before Clement VI at Avignon in 1349, he recurred to a theme on which he had preached more than once in the days of Benedict XII, denouncing the sins of simony and bribery in the courts of justice. But he was quick to add a comment that may seem surprising to those who know their Avignon only from our modern text-books. "I have fought fourteen cases in these courts," he told his audience, "and my adversary [the Archbishop of Canterbury, though he does not name him] "was very much more influential than I was at that time." (He himself was Dean of Lichfield during these years of litigation). "None the less I bear witness that there is no court in the world where such just judgments are given as in this Apostolic Palace." It may seem no more than an idle compliment; but FitzRalph never lacked the courage to say what he thought, at Avignon or elsewhere. Some of his earlier sermons, preached before the papal court at Avignon, are notable for their fearless and frank speech. For myself I find Richard FitzRalph of Armagh very much more trustworthy as a witness in these matters than the visionary St. Bridget of Sweden.

That brings me to one of the most perplexing problems of this perplexing age. What of the sanctity of the Church? How far were God's *charismata meliora* withheld from a worldly and sceptical age? Father Hughes prints some most interesting calculations, based on the statistics of canonised saints from various countries, religious orders and states of life. His conclusion is very definite: that the friars were, especially in the fifteenth century, almost the sole witnesses to the hidden glories of our Catholic faith; whilst the higher clergy—from archdeacons and deans to Cardinals and Popes—were left behind in the race that St. Paul bids us all run. His statistics are indeed most curious; and there can be no question at all as to their value as proof of the zeal and heroic virtue of so many men and women who found their inspiration and guidance in the Rules of St. Francis, St. Dominic and other holy founders of apostolic and preaching orders. But statistics are notoriously treacherous, once the argument is pushed too far; and I feel that Father Hughes has not made sufficient allowance for the increasing centralisation of the Church's activity in this process of canonisation as in every other aspect of her life. Once canonisation was centred in Rome, or rather at the papal court of Avignon or Rome, the advantage was bound to lie with the centralised orders who could push their case constantly and whose funds, collected from all over the world, were equal to bearing the cost of an expensive process. Local candidates from some small diocese or monastery stood a far better chance of canonisation in the days when *vox populi* was the

commonest of all courts before which their cause was judged. The Popes, of course, and the Cardinals living at the papal court, share this advantage with the centralised orders. Four of the Popes whom Father Hughes discusses in the first half of this volume (Blessed Gregory X, St. Celestine V, Blessed Benedict XI and Blessed Urban V) bear witness to strong traditions of asceticism and sanctity at the papal court. There is less to be said for the Cardinals ; and indeed no single body of men did more harm to Mother Church in the fourteenth century than the College of French Cardinals at Avignon. It is one more proof of the danger of simplicity in high places that the most saintly of all these Popes (San Celestino himself), by one disastrous creation of twelve Cardinals artfully suggested to him by Charles of Anjou, gave the Frenchmen that predominance in the Sacred College to which they clung so tenaciously throughout the century—and for the sake of which they did not hesitate to plunge Western Christendom into the lamentable miseries of the Great Schism.

I have left myself little space to deal with the later chapters of this book, which are devoted to the story of the Great Schism and of the Councils that were organised to end that schism and impose a new order on the Church's government ; to the new heresies of Wyclif and Hus and the rise of a militant Czech nationalism ; to what Father Hughes defines as " The Return of the Ancient World " in the Italian Renaissance ; and finally to the familiar scene of Rome under the Renaissance Popes from Nicholas V to Leo X. " Facilis Descensus " is the title which Father Hughes has chosen for this last section of his work. The title indicates his personal judgment, which is (and many readers will think justly) more severe than the judgments passed by Pastor, now more than fifty years ago. Here and there Father Hughes has thought it wise to excuse some exceptionally bold statement of his personal dislike for the court of the humanist Popes. But he can fairly claim that what he has written in this book is mild indeed when it is compared, not merely with the denunciations of contemporary preachers and reformers, but with the occasional utterances of these very Renaissance Popes themselves, when they were, for some brief ineffectual interlude, stirred to protest against the prevalent corruption of the day.

One or two points seem to call for special comment. In his story of the Great Schism Father Hughes is on exceptionally strong ground. Just as he bases his narrative of the Avignon Papacy largely on the authoritative work of Mollat and other French students, so he has followed the splendid work of M. Noel Valois, backed by a supplementary volume on England and the Great Schism by M. Perroy, as a sure guide through the intricacies of that era of confusion and bewilderment. But his account of Wyclif's contribution to the widespread revolt seems to me most inadequate ; and I feel that he has done little to explain what is at first sight an obvious puzzle to students of fourteenth-century English history.

If, as Father Hughes points out, the English statutes of Provisors and Praemunire mark a successful challenge to papal authority in a country which (in the thirteenth century) had been recognised as a vassal kingdom of the Holy See, why was so little use made of these same statutes throughout the period of the Great Schism, when the Papacy was at its weakest? Or, to put it another way, why was Wyclif's open defiance of papal authority and Catholic doctrine not more successful in a country which would seem, from the story in the text-books, to be ripe for revolt? Why was it left to Henry VIII in the sixteenth century to draw the logical conclusion from legislation that belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century? A good deal of excellent work has been done by English scholars on this very question: they have set these statutes in their administrative background. Father Hughes makes no use of this work. Nor does he show any appreciation of the fine work done by Mr. W. A. Pantin in his investigation into the archives of the English Black Monks. Much of what Father Hughes has written about the reform of the Benedictine order by Benedict XII would need to be revised in the light of Mr. Pantin's researches; and a good deal of new light has been thrown in recent years on the early phase of Wyclif's intellectual history, which goes far to explain his failure, not as a champion of English nationalism against a French or Roman Pope—that was, on the whole, a popular cry, as Langland's *Piers Plowman* reveals so plainly—but as a daring heretic who went so far as to deny the doctrine of Transsubstantiation and make men question the truth of the Real Presence.

Father Hughes devotes much space, and very rightly, to the proceedings of the Council of Constance and to the new theories of conciliar government which were being put forward, chiefly by French theologians, at this time. Of Constance itself he says very truly: "The history of the Council cannot ever be too closely studied." In a footnote he remarks that only now, since the publication of the *Acta Concilii Constanciensis* by that great Swiss Catholic scholar, Heinrich Finke, whose life's work was completed in 1928, can we hope to study the work of this great assembly with any finality. Father Hughes, as his earlier volume on *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in England* bears witness, has a keen sense of the importance of this governmental side of the Church; and he stresses, with great reason, the tragic legacy of this dispute as to the primacy of Pope or Council in the next century. The anxiety of each succeeding Pope to avoid a recurrence of this dispute was, as he says, "not only a good excuse for lazy Popes and weak Popes and bad Popes to ignore the clamant need for a spiritual restoration, but, much more tragically, a valid reason whereby good Popes too hesitated, really fearing lest with this abundance of tares they would root up the little wheat that remained." The permanence of this fear of a fresh controversy as to the primacy of Pope over Council was indeed an all-important factor in the weak policy

of so many Renaissance Popes. Yet it does not excuse their culpable weakness in surrendering, more and more openly, to the prevalent immorality, scepticism and neo-paganism of the Italian Quattrocento.

Strangely enough, it is precisely on this very problem of effective governmental action that I find Father Hughes guilty of his most serious lapse from historical accuracy. Just as he relies too much, in my judgment, on the statistical argument from official canonisations for his opinion as to the varying sanctity of different classes in the Church, so he risks a sweeping condemnation of the Church's diocesan government on the strength of a few statistics that are most certainly open to question. On page 482 of this book he gives a long catalogue of local provincial councils which needs to be checked with great care before it can be accepted as anything like correct in its implications. " In many provinces no council was ever held," he writes of the whole period covered by this volume (1270–1517). In Italy there were 29 provinces, but councils were never held at all in 22 of them. In France things were better : of the 16 metropolitan provinces into which the country was divided, most held provincial councils at least once in an average man's lifetime. " The tale," he continues, " is much the same in Spain, although at Toledo and Tarragona councils were really frequent (6 at Toledo, 14 at Tarragona)." Passing from Germany, Poland and Scandinavia to Scotland and Ireland, Father Hughes ends his catalogue with this clear statement : " In Scotland the law (of triennial councils) was a dead letter ; a council was held in 1280, and the next was in 1436. . . . . In Ireland (where there were four provinces) there are only the two councils of Dublin in 1348 and 1351."

I know little or nothing of the sources from which Father Hughes has borrowed his facts ; but I can only record my sheer amazement at the rash certitude of this last statement. Even if we limit ourselves to the Irish provincial councils which are noticed by Wilkins in his *Concilia*, there was an important provincial council of Cashel, which met at Limerick in 1458 ; and another which met in 1511. But nothing could be more rash than to assume that Wilkins, who was dependent on the stray notes of his friends for much of his information, gives anything like a complete list of the councils for which we have authentic contemporary records. Shortly before the war, thanks to information communicated to me by Mr. Pantin, I was able to identify among the archives of Durham Cathedral an exceedingly lengthy document containing the constitutions of a Dublin provincial council which met at Kilkenny in 1366. Wilkins took his texts from the Red Book of Ossory, which was compiled at Kilkenny in or about the year 1360. The constitutions which I found at Durham were not included in this book, for the simple reason that they were not then in existence. How many other provincial councils may have been held in the late fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, of which we know nothing by the accidental disappearance of documentary evidence ?

As it happens, the evidence for the province of Armagh is more adequate than for any of the three other Irish provinces. (We have no documentary evidence at all for the province of Tuam). I have been working on these documents for some time past, and my notes as to the dates of various Armagh provincial councils known to me during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may be of interest as a check on the statistics given by Father Hughes. The sermon-diary of Archbishop FitzRalph (1346–60) shows that he held two triennial councils, in 1352 and 1355. His immediate successor, Milo Sweetman (1362–80) held at least one provincial council towards the beginning of his pontificate : his register has survived in mutilated form, and there may well have been other councils of which we know nothing. John Colton (1383–1404) held at least one council in the early years of the Great Schism : his register has been lost, and we know little or nothing of his rule. Nicholas Fleming (1404–16) held an important council in 1411 ; the constitutions of this council have been preserved among the papers of his successor, John Swayne. John Swayne (1418–39) held a council early in his pontificate ; he was a careless administrator, and there is no record of any other council though the bulk of his register has been preserved. John Prene (1439–43) and John Mey (1444–56) have left registers which have not yet been calendared. My notes are most imperfect, but Mey certainly held at least one council. John Bole or Bull (1457–71) held at least one council at Drogheda and (I think) a second in the last years of his rule—though his register survives only in the form of loose notes. Octavian de Palatio (1479–1513) was exceptionally regular in his administration. The loose sheets which have now been bound together in the form of a register let us see that he held provincial councils at regular triennial intervals in 1480, 1483, 1486, 1489, 1492, 1495, 1504 and 1507. There are two gaps in this series ; but the succession is so regular, and the extant register so incomplete, that I have no doubt at all that Primate Octavian held his triennial councils at Drogheda in 1498 and 1501. He may even have held a last triennial council in 1510, shortly before his death.

These facts speak for themselves. Father Hughes has evidently been led into grievous error by his over-confident use of statistics ; and he must excuse me if I feel exceedingly sceptical as to the value of the other figures given by him in his list of provincial councils. The point is of real importance. As he himself notes in this same passage, the law of triennial councils dates from the Fourth Lateran Council over which Innocent III presided in 1215. Its purpose was " not merely to make laws : it was designed by Innocent III as the instrument by which episcopal slackness and shortcomings were to be corrected by the bishops of the province." Nobody holds that the law was observed with any reasonable exactitude during the next three centuries : had that been so, there would have been no need for the Decrees of the Council of Trent. But Father Hughes has

gone much too far in his indictment of medieval government as a whole; and this single example of dangerous overstatement may be useful as a warning against a tendency that is manifest in many sections of this very stimulating book. It is always easy to be picturesque at the expense of some great prelate whose human weaknesses are known to us from contemporary sources. The Popes of Renaissance Italy lived in the full glare of publicity, and the diarists of their age had the fatal gift of literary skill. Sixtus IV, the Franciscan Pope who ruled the Church from 1471 to 1484, is known from contemporary descriptions of Roman life to have been one of the greatest nepotists of all times; and the moral standards of the papal court in his day were far from what we might wish them to have been. Father Hughes has hardly a good word to say for this exceptionally able and energetic Pope: "Never had Pope such a horde of needy, insignificant, and incompetent kinsfolk for whom to provide; and never was any Pope so lavish in the provision." The sentence is worthy of Macaulay at his best—or of Winston Churchill. Yet surely there is another side to the picture. This same Sixtus IV sent a Florentine priest named Ottaviano del Palacio as his special Nuncio to Armagh in 1477: when the Nuncio had justified himself by restoring some degree of order and good government in a bankrupt diocese, he provided him to the see as Primate of All Ireland in 1479. We have seen that Primate Octavian did not fail in his duties as metropolitan and archbishop. If good work of this kind could be done in so remote a province of the Catholic Church as Armagh then was, perhaps there is more to be said for the government of Sixtus IV than Father Hughes would have us believe.

But I do not wish to end on a note of controversy or criticism. Father Hughes has given us a singularly able and readable book, better still a courageous book. I have ventured to criticise his views on more than one point, but I feel that the author of this *History of the Church* is not the man to shirk criticism or correction on points of detail. In his Preface Father Hughes cites two great names in support of his determination to tell the truth fearlessly, and to tell the whole truth. One is, of course, Leo XIII whose *mot d'ordre* for Catholic historians should never be forgotten: "Illud in primis scribentium obversetur animo primam historiae legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat: deinde ne quid veri non audeat." The words are the words of Cicero, but the authority is the authority of one of the greatest of modern Popes. And the second quotation is perhaps even more to the point. The name of Catherine of Siena recurs repeatedly throughout this volume. In one of her letters the saint gives this advice to one who was in danger of discouragement at sight of the evils of the day: "Do not let yourself ever fall into confusion of mind, but sail over the tempestuous sea in the bark of the Divine Mercy." Those are brave words, worthy of one whose mystical splendour and human courage are an unfailing glory of the age in which she lived.

AUBREY GWYNN

DECLINE AND FALL

POLAND, SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WESTERN POWERS

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

Editor of *The Month*

"DECLINE and Fall"—the title could be applied to this sad story in more respects than one. It is a record of the decline and fall of the Polish Republic which, after 1918, gave expression to the century-old aspirations of a good and brave people for personal freedom and national independence. It is the story, on the side of Russia, of a policy of aggression, persisted in even during the months of Russia's seeming collapse and defeat and, on that of the Western Allies, of a policy of appeasement, in comparison with which Mr. Neville Chamberlain's attitude at Munich appears an obstinate truculence. It is the tale of the decline and fall of international confidence and morality, of the value of agreements between allies, of the pledged word. May those who hope for the world's regeneration from the United Nations' Organization understand, while there is yet time for understanding, that any organization which is based upon or can tolerate such policies as these, is foredoomed to failure!

The brightest feature of the peace treaties of 1919 to 1921 was the re-emergence of Poland. Poland throughout the nineteenth century had hung like a dark shadow over the European conscience. Dismembered Poland was a standing condemnation of the three Imperial States, Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary, as it provided symbol and inspiration for all who were struggling for the liberation of subject nations. Then the three Empires collapsed. Poland, phoenix-like, rose from her ashes and from the ruins of three Empires.

The country's rebirth was certainly not painless. Far from it. A new Government had to be formed; a system of administration improvised; war ravages repaired; a fresh and a Polish economy introduced. Frontiers had to be determined, both to West and East; those in the East were not fixed until Polish forces had repulsed Bolshevik armies that had advanced as far westwards as Warsaw. However, these were settled by the Treaty of Riga, signed on March 18th, 1921, and they were the boundaries between Poland and Russia which existed up to the fateful day of the Nazi invasion of Poland, September 1st, 1939. The treaty of Riga was concluded in an atmosphere of mutual amity, and M. Joffe, the head of the Soviet delegation, voiced his country's satisfaction and its absolute freedom of action in making this international agreement.[1]

[1] After the Yalta agreement of 1945, I consulted the files of the London *Times* for August 1920 during the peak period of this Polish-Russian struggle. The paper's accents were very different from its appeasing tones of February 1945. An editorial for August 23rd, for instance, welcomed the news of the liberation of Polish soil from Russian troops. This news, it continued, " will give sincere satisfaction to all whose view of the opposing forces is not hopelessly prejudiced by desire for a Bolshevik triumph. Out of the confusion which the partisans of revolution have deliberately thrown about the situation, there emerges, undeniable and ineluctable, the fact that the Polish armies are fighting in the cause of a free Poland. They have the sympathy of Britain, as time and again they have had it in their unhappy history, but to-day the feeling is deepened by a consciousness

When one remembers how the Polish Republic, after 1918, was literally " starting from scratch," the achievements of its Governments and its people during the 1920's and 1930's were very remarkable. Of course, difficulties occurred, political and economic. Stability had to be purchased with some degree of authoritarian rule. There was some conflict between Poles and the Ukrainians of Eastern Poland. The former were charged with being loath to grant the rights and the measure of autonomy they had agreed to give ; they were accused of attempts to bring Latin pressure to bear upon Orthodox believers. Yet, these were family quarrels, variations within a general harmony.

During these years, external relations were not easy with the Czechs, because of the dispute over Teschen, nor were they friendly between Germany and Poland during the Weimar period. With Russia they were uncertain, though there was, outwardly at least, a distinct improvement after 1930. On July 25th, 1932, Russians and Poles signed in Moscow a pact of non-aggression. This stated, in its preamble, that " the Treaty of Peace of March 18th, 1921, constitutes, now as in the past, the basis of their reciprocal undertakings". The first article of the pact declared : " The two Contracting Powers, recording the fact that they have renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, reciprocally undertake to refrain from taking aggressive action against or involving the territory of the other Party, either alone or in conjunction with other Powers." This pact was renewed in 1934, and its validity extended until December 31st, 1945.[1]

The year 1938 merged into 1939. War clouds were again gathering. They had gathered in the previous summer, heavily, stormily, only to

that incalculably more than the preservation of their independence is at stake." Then, after advising the Poles to be moderate in their demands, the editorial continued : " If Poland should again be overwhelmed, or should *suffer a diminution of authority within its own borders*, the way would be clear for an invasion of Western Europe by the troops and the missionaries of Bolshevism."

On August 10, of that same summer, Mr. Lloyd George had said : " It is not merely that *we are morally bound to interest ourselves in the life of a nation which is an ally and to which we have undertaken to give support in the event of its national existence being challenged.* There is, in addition, the danger which is involved to the ' peace of Europe,' if you have a great aggressive Soviet Empire conterminous with Germany." All this might have been written—and much that was similar was written—in the British Catholic press in 1945 and since. History repeats itself, we are frequently told. It does so, at times, with uncanny resemblances. But countries and their Governments do not always react to history in the same way.

[1] An admirable account of Polish achievements in Poland during these two decades, with statistics and excellent illustrations, may be found in *Poland's Progress :* 1919–1939. The book was prepared by Michael Murray, and contains a foreword by Sir Ernest Barker. Sir Ernest writes : " I saw many ' Cavalier ' things in Poland a dozen years ago—monuments of Sobieski ; trophies of the Turkish wars ; the gallantries and splendours of Polish kings and Polish nobles. Being an old teacher of history, I confess that I was fascinated by these things. But the abiding memory which I brought back was something different. It was the memory of the Polish people—a sober and hard-working people—soberly setting their house in order. It was a memory of industrial, educational, and medical effort, directed to laying the foundations of a healthy life, both of body and mind, for the whole of the people of Poland." The book was published by John Murray, London, for 10s. 6d. net.

be scattered or at least separated by the agreements reached at Munich. Nobody had liked Munich, except the Italians and neutral countries. The Germans resented it; they would have preferred to devour the Czech lands in one bite, not two. The French and British felt ashamed of it, however necessary it had been; it was giving in to *force majeure*. And was that going to stop? The Russians feared its consequences, for in their eyes it was an attempt of the Western Powers to divert German aggression in the direction of Russia. Further than Munich, Britain and France dared not go. The annexation of the Czech and Slovak provinces of Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1939 could not be recognized. Another step would mean war. What would Germany do? Abandon its aggressive designs and turn its abundant energies to peaceful purposes? Or risk another *fait accompli*?

As month followed month in 1939, it was evident that Hitler was looking for another victim, seeking a further channel through which to expand. Nazi propaganda centred on Poland. On August 25th the governments of Britain and Poland signed an agreement of mutual assistance. Its first article ran thus: "Should one of the Contracting Parties become engaged in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by the latter against that Contracting Party, the other Contracting Party will at once give the Contracting Party, engaged in hostilities, all the support and assistance in its power."[1] This practical alliance between Britain and Poland, together with a similar pact between Poland and France, and the guarantees given to Roumania and Greece, made it clear that a German attack upon Poland would mean European war.

Was there no way out for Hitler? He could not carry the West with him if he marched Eastwards. What if he marched Westwards? Could he find friends to his East? He did. Despite the apparently irreconcilable opposition between Hitler and Bolshevism, he made a deal with the Bolsheviks. And this deal safeguarded Germany's Eastern frontiers and left Hitler freedom of action in Central and Western Europe. A British and French mission had been in Moscow for some time, discussing possible collaboration between the Western Powers and Russia in the event of further German aggression. It was subsequently revealed that one rock on which these talks were shipwrecked was the refusal of France and Britain to permit Russia to annex the three Baltic States. In August 1939, Ribbentrop arrived in the Soviet Capital. He had fewer scruples about sharing with a new associate the property of other peoples. The result—the Moscow Pact of August 23rd. The Moscow Pact made certain the European War of 1939. And perhaps just as inevitably, it brought about the German invasion of Russia in 1941.

[1] To this agreement was added an unpublished Protocol which, as disclosed by Mr. Petherick in the House of Commons on December 15th, 1944, "further reinforced the obligations of H.M.'s Government to the Polish nation". The Protocol explicitly stated that by "European Power" was meant Germany, but it was understood at the time that the guarantee embraced Poland's Eastern frontiers also.

On September 1st, 1939, German armies attacked Poland. Two days afterwards Britain and France declared war on Germany. The Poles fought heroically, but were forced back; the enemy was superior in numbers and especially in armament. Still, they held out: at Kutno from September 11th to the 21st; in Lwów from the 13th to the 22nd. Warsaw was not entered till October 1st. On September 17th Russian armies invaded Poland from the East. It was a stab in the back. Pressed from both sides, Polish troops, in large numbers, had to move south, through Hungary and Roumania—many of them to fight again in Africa, Italy and France.

It is quite clear that the discussions between Ribbentrop and Molotov, which issued in the Moscow Pact, were concerned with other subjects than mere non-aggression. Germany had to pay a price for her security in the East; she could afford to be generous since the price was in Polish land and Polish men and women. Doubtless, Hitler made the mental reservation that one day, when he was ready, he would win it all back from Russia. The Pact restored to Moscow all the territory that had belonged to Czarist Russia prior to 1917. The gains included the Baltic States, Bessarabia (this at the expense of Roumania) and Eastern Poland, while Russia was to have freedom of action against Finland. The Baltic States and Eastern Poland were occupied in September and October 1939; Finland was attacked in the winter of 1939-40; Bessarabia and the Northern portion of the Bukovina were annexed in June 1940. As far as Poland was concerned, this was a Fifth Partition. On September 28th, another Soviet-German agreement was concluded in Moscow, establishing the frontiers of this new Partition. Its preamble read thus: "The Government of the U.S.S.R. and the German Government, following *the collapse of the former Polish State*, consider it as exclusively their own task to restore peace and order in these territories and to assure to the peoples inhabiting them a peaceful existence which will correspond to their national characteristics." Both Powers warned other Governments that they would brook no interference, since it was their concern alone. It was yet another *Finis Poloniae*.

Of the behaviour of the Russians in these occupied provinces, I need say very little. Hundreds of thousands of Poles were deported into Asiatic Russia; three hundred thousand prisoners of war remained in captivity.[1]

[1] In 1946 Faber and Faber published a remarkable book, prefaced by T. S. Eliot, on the experiences of Poles under the Russian occupation from 1939 to 1941. The book is entitled *The Dark Side of the Moon*. Arthur Koestler, in *The Yogi and the Commissar*, had said: "This reality, the everyday life of people in Kazan and Saratov, Ashkabad and Tomsk, even in the very suburbs of Moscow, not to speak of the forced labour camps on the White Sea, of the exiled and deported millions in Siberia and Central Asia, is as remote from the Western observer as *the dark side of the moon* from the star-gazer's telescope." The author of this book reveals something of that translunar life, as it was experienced, with all its crudities and inhumanities, by the Polish exiles of those war years. She has collected, checked and even tempered the personal accounts of men and women

This was the first of the Russian attempts to re-partition Poland and to bring the remainder of Poland under her control. It was made in association with Germany. Russia was perfectly content to aid and abet Germany, provided that her price was paid. Germany paid it. The iniquitous contract was signed and sealed.

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The thieves fell out. On the night of June 21st–22nd, 1941, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Is it significance or mere chance that Napoleon invaded Russia on the same day, June 22nd, in 1812? On that day Napoleon issued a proclamation to his soldiers. It was his only declaration of war. He spoke of Europe and of the security which a French victory would bring with it. " La paix que nous conclurons porte avec elle sa garantie ; elle mettra un terme à la *funeste influence que la Russie exerce depuis cinquante ans sur les affaires de l'Europe*." Hitler too published a manifesto. It was longer and more turgid. But substitute " Bolshevism " for Napoleon's *funeste influence*, and you have the gist of his proclamation.

The Nazi invasion of Russia changed immediately the relations between the British and Russian Governments and the Government of Poland, which the joint Russo-German declaration of September 28th, 1939, had entirely ignored, when it spoke of " the collapse of the former Polish State." The Soviet Government made an agreement with the Polish Government, now under General Sikorski in London. On the Russian side the document renounced what Russia had received through the Moscow Pact. It contained these clauses :—

(i). The Government of the U.S.S.R. recognizes the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 as to territorial changes in Poland as having lost their validity.

(ii). Diplomatic relations will be restored between the two Governments upon the signing of this Agreement and an immediate exchange of Ambassadors will be arranged.

(iii). The two Governments mutually agree to render one another aid and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.

Relations between Russia and Poland improved. Russia, to begin with, was fighting for existence. Her armies were in retreat. Leningrad, then Moscow were threatened. Large numbers of Poles were released from the Russian prisons and labour camps where they had been suffering. In the four months subsequent to the agreement hundreds of thousands of Poles

who were there. Her text is all the more telling because of the quiet, calm and unrhetorical quality of her narration.

A recent book from the United States, soon to be published in Britain, is *I Chose Freedom* by Victor Kravchenko, former member of the Komsomol and Communist Party in Russia, then technical controller of Russian factories and finally a member of the Soviet Purchasing Commission in the U.S.A. There he broke away from the Party and claimed the protection of the United States. His account of life in the Soviet Union, and in particular of life in labour camps, is vivid and terrible, and it has the accent of genuine truth. He speaks of from fifteen to twenty million of these forced labourers, living under completely subhuman conditions and entirely controlled by the N.K.V.D. or Security Police.

recovered their freedom and received Polish passports from the new Polish Embassy established on Russian soil. A Polish Army was to be formed from the 300,000 Polish prisoners of war known to be in the Soviet Union. General Anders was designated its Commander.[1]

Problems began, however, to reappear as soon as the Russians had time for distraction from the actual campaigns. In November 1941, the Commissar of the Kazak Republic issued an order that all Polish citizens of Ukrainian, White Russian and Jewish origin, suitable for military service, were to be enlisted in the Russian Army. On December 1st the Moscow Government sent a note to the Polish Ambassador, reaffirming its " decree " of November 29th, 1939, whereby " all persons domiciled in the Eastern half of Poland had become Russian citizens " : only those of specific Polish origin were exempted. And this on the eve of General Sikorski's visit to Russia ! No sooner had Sikorski left Russia than Soviet war communiqués started to speak of towns in Eastern Poland as though they were Soviet cities.[2] During 1942, it became practically impossible for the Polish Embassy in Russia to help or protect Polish citizens. It was increasingly clear that the Soviet renunciation of gains secured through the Moscow Pact with Hitler did not mean that they would not attempt to secure those gains in some other way. The first attempt had failed, when Germany turned on Russia. Now, another attempt was being made—in the midst of a war in which Poland, which had suffered so much from Russia as from Germany, was Russia's ally.

Relations during 1942 were unsatisfactory and grew worse. The

[1] This is not the place to describe the search for Poles through the camps and villages of the Soviet Union nor to deal with the problem of the missing Polish officers, thousands of whose murdered bodies were discovered in Katyn Forest. The accounts of the trek of Polish prisoners, military and civilian, from all quarters of the Soviet Union, that they might together resume their struggle against the invaders of their country, are most touching human documents. Forgetting his ideological briefing, the Soviet commentator, Ilya Ehrenburg, could so write of them : " I have been for a week amidst the Poles ; I have seen them parade in the snow before General Sikorski. The men who marched past us showed marks of deep suffering ; a great human drama was reflected in their eyes. They had lost everything. But they held their rifles with pride. I saw grey-haired soldiers, with long moustaches, and very young boys kissing the rifles they had just received. They were holding the weapons tight in their hands with radiant happiness."

[2] Molotov's note on German atrocities, issued on January 6th, 1942, mentioned Lwów and Wilno among the list of Soviet towns. A note from the Polish Ambassador on January 9th protested that these cities belonged to the Polish Republic. Molotov replied on January 17th in this strain : " The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs considers as unjustified the statement of the Embassy . . . . in which the cities of Lwów, Brzesc and Stanislavov, etc., ... on the territories of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic and Soviet White Ruthenian Republic, belonging to the Soviet Union, are referred to as cities on the territories of the Polish Republic. Since it is irrelevant to open a discussion on the historical and legal foundations by which Lwów and any other city on the territories of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Soviet Republics belong to the Soviet Union—the Commissar for Foreign Affairs considers it his duty to inform the Embassy that, in future, he will not take into consideration any Note of the Embassy containing similar affirmations." This was a clear statement that Russia had annexed the provinces of Eastern Poland—in her own mind and intention. What she had failed to obtain through partnership with Germany, she would now attempt to secure, with or in spite of the Western Allies. Here was the same bare-faced Imperialism which we were fighting in Nazi Germany.

Russians were now more confident. Despite immense losses, they had stemmed the German advance; the tide had turned. With Britain, the United States, and other Powers, they counted on the defeat of Germany. Towards the Poles and the Polish Government their attitude stiffened. The time had come, they considered, when they could take another step and release other machinery to serve their purposes.

The atrocities of Katyn Forest, where the bodies of 10,000 Polish officers had been discovered, were made known by the Germans on April 12th, 1943. The Germans attributed these atrocities, naturally, to the Russians; the Russians provided their own interpretation. The Polish Government asked for an investigation through the International Red Cross, which *Pravda* (April 19th) described as " unreasonable and provocative". A flood of Soviet propaganda was let loose on the Polish Government, which was accused of being hand in glove with the Germans. On April 25th, the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with the Polish Government. M. Molotov's note which contained this information, spoke of the " vile Fascist slander against the U.S.S.R.", but a later paragraph in the note reveals the true point at issue: " The Soviet Government is aware that this hostile campaign against the Soviet Union is being undertaken by the Polish Government in order to exert pressure upon the Soviet Government by making use of the slanderous Hitlerite fake for the purpose of wresting from it territorial concessions at the expense of the Soviet Ukraine, Soviet White Ruthenia and Soviet Lithuania " (regions which, in 1939, were parts of Eastern Poland and of Lithuania).

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The Soviet authorities now began to prepare an alternative Government for Poland. The Comintern had naturally its department for Polish affairs, which survived the dissolution of the Communist Party in Poland. A " Union of Polish Patriots " was established in Moscow. This, it was claimed, represented the feelings of the people of Poland more realistically than the émigré Government in London. That was the theme, which was to be emphasized more and more strongly. Among those associated with this Union were: M. Andrew Witos, whose brother, Wincenty Witos, had been three times Premier of the Polish Republic; Mme. Wanda Wasilewska, daughter of a well-known Polish Socialist who was Foreign Minister in the first Government after 1918; Dr. Emil Sommerstein, for several years a member of the Polish Parliament. In the meantime, the Communist Party had been revived in Poland, with the new title of the P.P.R. or Polish Workers' Party, and a pro-Soviet Fifth Column was encouraged in the Polish Underground Movement. Progress was slow, for in Poland the number of those ready to work in a pro-Soviet and anti-Polish interest was very small; some new and bogus Polish citizens had to be found and trained.

The situation was, however, complicated through the first of those meetings of the Big Three. It took place at Teheran towards the close of 1943. Its decisions were not published, though they included the joint occupation of Germany and the practical creation of an Eastern sphere of Russian influence—which would include, of course, Poland. Apologists of the " appeasement " policy of Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt will argue that no other course of action lay open to them, if they were to keep Russia in the war and also finish the war as speedily as possible on account of the German production of rocket weapons. But was there much likelihood that Russia would sue for a separate peace? The same stick might have been taken to beat the Russians. Doubtless, considerations of rocket weapons weighed heavily upon them. But the major criticism that can and indeed must be levelled against them is that, when they had the destinies of the world in their hands, when they had the power to insist upon certain conditions and to urge definite and unassailable principles, they did not do so or did so weakly that the result was a poor compromise, at the expense not only of the smaller nations in East-Central Europe who had been associated with Nazi Hitler, but of allied Poland and Yugoslavia.

Teheran led, by a logic of compromise and dishonour, to Yalta and, in its turn, to the Polish election results of January 19th, 1947.

In 1944 Soviet forces entered Poland. When on July 25th, 1944, the Red Army crossed the river Bug (the " Ribbentrop-Molotov " line of September 28th, 1939), the Moscow Foreign Office announced that, by this passage, Soviet troops had crossed the Soviet-Polish frontier on to Polish territory. It announced also that the Soviet Government would make arrangements with the " Polish Committee of National Liberation " with respect to the relations of the Soviet authorities and the Poles. According to *Pravda* (July 26th, 1944) this Committee was " the only lawful temporary organ of executive power in the liberated areas". No mention at all was made of the legitimate Polish Government, still resident and active in London and recognized by the entire world outside the Axis Powers and Soviet Russia.

This self-styled " National " Committee took its name, first from Chelm, then from Lublin, where it was subsequently transferred. Its head was M. Bierut, a Russian citizen of Polish origin, who had served with the Czarist armies during the 1914–1918 war, but returned to Poland afterwards as an ardent Communist. Expelled from Poland, he worked for the Comintern in Vienna and Prague. In 1932 he was arrested and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment; this he never served as he was exchanged with the Russian authorities for an important Polish prisoner. He was a Moscow-trained Communist.

During 1944 efforts were continually made by Britain and America to re-establish relations between the Polish Government in London and

the Soviet Government or, failing this, with the Lublin Committee, that more and more was assuming the position of a Government. It was hoped that the Polish Premier, M. Mikolajczyk, would be amenable. He was but only up to a point. In October 1944, Mr. Churchill and M. Mikolajczyk visited Moscow, whither the members of the Lublin Committee had been brought to impress the guests from Britain. M. Mikolajczyk was presented with three Soviet demands: the abolition of the Polish Constitution of 1935; the formation of a Joint Government to include members of the Lublin Committee; and the acceptance of the Ribbentrop-Molotov line as the Eastern frontier of Poland. This third point was put forward as a *conditio sine qua non*; unless this was at once accepted, there could be no further discussion of Russo-Polish relationship.[1]

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And so we reach the fourth stage of this "decline and fall," which can be summed up in the one word "Yalta". The Yalta decisions on Poland were published on February 11th, 1945, and issued as a Government White Paper eleven days later. These decisions were summariesd in my article "The Tragedy of Poland," published in STUDIES, June, 1946; but they are so outrageous that they cannot be too often repeated or too severely criticized:—

(i). The Eastern provinces of Poland, comprising nearly half of its territory and more than one third of its inhabitants, are to be handed over to Russia. There was to be no election. Neither the people whose fate was in question nor their legitimate Government, acknowledged by all save a tiny Russian-controlled minority, was to be consulted or to have any say in this momentous resolution. Some additional territory was promised to Poland at the expense of Germany.

(ii). The Western half of Poland must have a new Government. The signatories of the document insist that they desire to see established "a strong, free, independent and democratic Poland". The Atlantic Charter is referred to. "This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations."[2]

(iii). The clauses dealing with the formation of this new Polish Government are most cunningly worded so as to exclude every mention of the legitimate

[1] According to the *New York Times* of December 18th, 1944, Molotov declared, in the presence of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Harriman, United States Ambassador, that the Ribbentrop-Molotov line had been agreed upon by Britain, the United States and Russia at Teheran. Cf. *Poland, Russia and Great Britain*, recently (1947) published in London. It provides an excellent and very detailed study of Russo-Polish and Anglo-Russian and Polish relations from 1941 to 1945. The book was written by R. Umiastowski and published by Hollis and Carter, for 25s. The reference here is to page 339.

[2] Naturally, the aggressor nations are not specified. But there could be no grosser travesty of the principles of the Atlantic Charter than this compulsory transfer of thirteen millions of Polish citizens to Soviet rule, without the slightest attempt to secure their consent, or later the indecency and tragedy of the Polish elections of January 1947.

Polish Government in London. Even in the section (No. vii), where it is stated that the Soviet Government recognizes the Lublin Committee, it is not so much as hinted that the Governments of Britain and the U.S.A., in company with most countries, acknowledge the London Government.

(iv). The nucleus of this new Government is the Lublin Committee (termed " the present Provisional Government " or " the Provisional Government now functioning in Poland "). This is to be *broadened* by the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland and from among Poles abroad. Please notice the phrasing—not from the Polish Government abroad. The expressions *broadened* and *democratic* are left dangerously ambiguous. It is difficult to reconcile this delicate phrasing with Mr. Eden's definite statement, during the three days' debate on Yalta in the House of Commons, that we (the British Government) do not, and never shall, recognize the Lublin Government.

(v). Finally, free and unfettered elections must be held in Poland, and all *democratic* and *anti-Nazi* parties will have their fair share in them.

It is not easy to reflect upon these decisions without strong indignation. They were monstrous in the immediate sacrifices which they demanded of the Polish people ; they were monstrous in the ambiguity of their various clauses ; they have proved monstrous in their consequences. Reading the Hansard reports of the Yalta debate, one has a better sense of the indignation and disgust with which they were regarded by not a few members of the British Parliament—a feeling that was shared by no inconsiderable section of the British public—than in the editorials of the London Press.

Eastern Poland passed beneath the Soviet yoke. Its people were subjected to a tyranny ; tens of thousands were deported. A violent persecution was unloosed against the Catholic Ruthenians. The reality of this persecution was brought home by a Papal encyclical, *Orientales Omnes Ecclesias*, issued on December 23rd, 1945. The Holy Father declared that all their bishops were arrested (some of them have died in captivity) with many priests, that pressure was put on individuals to abandon their Catholic faith for Russian " Orthodoxy," and that the framework of the Ruthenian Church was being destroyed.

In Western Poland the Lublin Committee was *broadened* by the admission of M. Mikolajczyk and a handful of his colleagues who certainly, in what they felt to be Poland's interest, did all they could to collaborate with this new Government. Of the four main political parties in pre-1939 Poland, three have practically ceased to exist. The National Democratic Party is denied any existence whatsoever. The Christian Labour Party, that played a significant part in the Underground Movement, has been infiltrated by Communist elements and has lost its position and importance. The authentic Socialist Party is not permitted to function, and has been replaced by a spurious " Polish Socialist Party " controlled by Communists. Even the Peasant Party had been infected through Communist influence ; so M. Mikolajczyk discovered when he returned

to his country. Consequently, he decided to form an authentic party, known as the Polish Peasant Party, which he has led, despite great difficulties and continual persecution, since his return.

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The fifth and final stage in this story of " decline and fall " is marked by the Polish elections which were finally held on January 19th. The tragedy of Yalta was to some small extent relieved by the definite guarantee, subscribed to by Britain and America, that there would be " free and unfettered " elections. No one doubts anywhere or for a moment that, if the people of Poland were permitted to vote in the promised " free and unfettered way," they would have a democratic Government, respectful of Polish traditions and the Catholic faith of the Polish people—composed, in the main, of the parties familiar in Polish life before—a coalition, perhaps, of National Democrats, Christian Labour members and Peasants. Having sacrificed the *integrity* of Poland by handing over nearly half of its territory to Russia, the Western Powers had at least guaranteed the political independence of the remainder.

Yet, in effect, what has happened? A provisional Russian-controlled and Communist-inspired administration has ruled Poland for nearly two years. The country has been run by security police, all under the direction of the Communist Party. An atmosphere of terrorism prevails, and this atmosphere was intensified in the weeks prior to January 19th. Every obstacle has been placed in M. Mikolajczyk's way.

The Yalta clauses insisted that the new Government of Poland " shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections *as soon as possible* on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot". The phrase " as soon as possible " has meant two years. First of all, the Communist-dominated Government tried to avoid holding the elections altogether on the ground that last year's referendum was an adequate substitute. Then, it made the attempt to turn the elections into a pure formality, on the Soviet model, by arranging beforehand with the different parties—including the Polish Peasant Party of M. Mikolajczyk—exactly what proportion of seats each party would secure. When this proved unacceptable to M. Mikolajczyk, every available means was employed to influence the elections: terrorism, pressure, compulsory open voting. Press and propaganda were entirely in the hands of the Government bloc. Christopher Buckley's articles from Poland in the *Daily Telegraph* exposed the situation very clearly. On January 8th, he stated that there was no freedom of the press. " Not only is M. Mikolajczyk's daily paper, the *Gazeta Ludowa*, arbitrarily limited in circulation to 62,000 copies, but it is ruthlessly censored, both in statements of fact and expressions of opinion. The numerous Government publications continually indulge in personal attacks upon M. Mikolajczyk and his party and scarcely veiled ones against Britain and the United States." Freedom of meeting for political purposes

is merely theoretical. Peasant Party meetings are broken up by hooligans or the security police. Members of the Party have been murdered and thousands arrested. Mr. Ernest Bevin, in the House of Commons, has not hesitated to attribute several of these murders to the security police.

The results of the elections are well known. They provided what is termed a " Sweeping Victory " for the Government bloc, and M. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party was credited with just over twenty seats out of a total of well above four hundred. The whole thing was a disgusting farce, an insult to the Western Powers, and a grave injury to the much-tried Polish people. An official British verdict on these elections was delivered in the House of Commons on February 3rd by Major Mayhew, Parliamentary Undersecretary to the Foreign Ministry :—

> Our information (he declared) regarding the conduct of the Polish elections, unfortunately, confirms reports from reliable British Press correspondents, which have already been published. The powers of the Polish Provisional Government were extensively used to reduce to a minimum the vote of those opposed to the Government bloc. Opposition lists of candidates in areas covering 22 per cent. of the electorate were completely suppressed. Candidates' and voters' names were removed from the lists ; candidates were arrested ; Government officials, members of the Armed Forces and many others were made to vote openly, and other forms of intimidation and pressure were used. The count was conducted in conditions entirely controlled by the Government bloc.

The British Government, he concluded, do not regard these elections as a " true expression of the will of the Polish people".

How far this condemnation will remain on the purely verbal plane, it is difficult to say. The United States Government has roundly condemned the elections and withdrawn its Ambassador. The Government of Britain appears more hesitant. True, Mr. Victor Cavendish Bentinck, the British Ambassador, has been recalled, but not as a protest against the election technique of the Polish Government, as is evident from the announcement that he is to be replaced by another diplomat. Communist propaganda in Poland as in Yugoslavia has, for a long time, been openly directed against Britain and the U.S.A., in an attempt to break Poland's natural associations with the West. Shortly prior to the election date, a trial was staged in Warsaw of Count Grocholski and two companions on the charge of acting as a liaison between the Polish Underground Movement and a certain Foreign Embassy, namely that of Britain. The crime was association with the Western Powers. Russia, intensely anxious that the Russian people shall be kept behind an iron curtain and have no communication with other countries, is attempting through her satellite Governments to separate other countries from Western contact. But, if Europe is to survive—and that is the major issue to-day in world politics—Europe must survive as a unity, a unity amid much diversity, perhaps a unity through federation. Europe cannot survive until these European countries which are now under satellite Governments of Russian origin

are able to rule themselves and can again be masters of their destinies. During March 1947, highly important meetings are to be held in Moscow, and item No. 1 on the conference programme is the future of Germany. The real issue is wider than Germany. It is the future of Europe.

The question is, will the Western Powers, and especially Britain and the United States, have a sufficiently clear understanding of what is necessary for the maintenance of Europe and of the principles upon which they must insist in these negotiations. Have they sufficient *faith*, a belief in their own national and European traditions strong enough to overcome their natural tendency to grasp at some fair-seeming compromise? One of the saddest features in the Western world these past twenty-five years has been the loss of faith in the Western democratic way of life. It is not perfection, but it is at least the most reasonable and the freest manner of civic and social existence which modern man has found. Its price is eternal vigilance. That has been often said. That price is also an eternal appreciation. Julien Green wrote of the *trahison des clercs* that has wrought so much havoc in the national life of the French. But in Britain and the United States there has been a similar *trahison*—the trahison of the lettered men, of professors, dons, journalists and writers, of Radio commentators and of Left Book clubs, of the men who have failed to understand the values of Western life and culture and civilisation, largely because they have lost their hold upon belief in God and Providence and that Natural Law which lies at the back of that civilisation and culture and life. Hence so much flirtation with Communism and Soviet Russia ; so much glib talk of progress ; so ready a condemnation of anything traditional and conservative as " reactionary". Hence too, a loss of values which issues in misrepresentation, that equates the irreconcilable and regards as poles asunder what are of the nearest kith and kin. And in this welter of moral incoherence and incongruity words lose their significance as ideals and values are denied their dignity. Hence too, the prostitution of grand and noble themes like democracy, freedom and the rights of man, that have descended from their queenly thrones to become the vulgar paramours of criminals and assassins.

The people of Poland endured great trials during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Earlier in this century, they saw again the dawn of liberty. Now that dawn is followed by yet another night. Those who understand what the Poles are and represent and who share with them the realities of Catholic faith, will follow their experiences with a keen and sensitive sympathy, and will pray that they may soon emerge from the valley of deep-shadowed tribulation. One thing is certain. Europe cannot enjoy any just and permanent peace until the Poles achieve again their personal and national freedom.

JOHN MURRAY

SMITH O'BRIEN AND YOUNG IRELAND

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EVERY reader of Gavan Duffy's *Young Ireland* and of his life of Thomas Davis must have been impressed by the warmth of personal affection and by the unbounded admiration for his genius with which he writes of Davis. I confess that, on re-reading more closely the passages in which he describes the very active part played by Smith O'Brien as deputy leader of the movement, I was surprised to find him place such striking emphasis on O'Brien's personal association with Davis. " In all this work," he writes[1] as a considered judgment on the period, " O'Brien received the same aid from Thomas Davis that Washington got from Alexander Hamilton". One is not surprised by the comparison of Davis to Hamilton, but the comparison of Smith O'Brien to Washington suggests a very different appreciation of him to that which is commonly accepted by modern writers on the period. Yet the phrase was not merely an accidental exaggeration ; for Gavan Duffy repeated precisely the same comparison[2] ten years later in his *Life of Davis.*

> As a scion of a great historic house, descended from King Brian, the Alfred of Ireland, and a member of Parliament of unstained probity and recognised success he occupied a unique position. He was not only the greatest recruit the cause had won, but he created the hope of a decisive movement among the class to which he belonged. O'Connell had proclaimed him his personal representative and the mouthpiece of the national cause during his imprisonment ; and O'Brien devoted every faculty of his being to the task imposed upon him. He loved to be surrounded by men of probity and capacity, and had no jealousy of their gifts. He had large belief and confidence in Davis, who speedily came to bear the same relation to him that Alexander Hamilton bore to Washington. He formulated the policy of the official chief, supplemented his projects with kindred proposals of his own, and clothed their common purpose in the persuasive language of genius. O'Brien visited O'Connell and the State prisoners almost daily, consulted them on his plans that nothing might be done which had not the assent of the imprisoned leader, but his own character and that of Thomas Davis were soon broadly stamped on the national movement.

When Duffy wrote these books he was already an old man of wide experience. He had been a Prime Minister in Victoria ; and many of the men whom he had regarded with veneration during the eighteen-forties must have seemed much smaller in stature than he had thought them to be when they were all young together. The comparison was therefore a quite serious judgment in retrospect ; and it obviously implies

[1] *Young Ireland.* II, p. 50.
[2] *Life of Davis,* pp. 212-3.

two inferences. First, that Smith O'Brien occupied a position of recognised and quite outstanding leadership among his colleagues; and secondly, that he performed public services of first-rate importance. It is certainly strange that, after so much has been written about the ideals and the achievements of Young Ireland, so little should have been said concerning the man whom Gavan Duffy so plainly designates as their leader. There is no need to rely upon Gavan Duffy alone, with his intimate knowledge of the whole movement, to establish the truth about Smith O'Brien. John Mitchel's evidence, which I shall produce in another article, is most remarkable. But Mitchel was quite a late-comer in the movement and had written only one article in the *Nation*[1] up to the time when Davis died in October 1845.

Michael Doheny, on the other hand, had been one of O'Brien's most active colleagues both in the Repeal Association and, later, on the executive of the National Confederation. Its minute book, which is preserved in the archives of the Royal Irish Academy, contains his signature as often as O'Brien's when they happened to preside at particular committee meetings. And in the introductory chapters of the *Felon's Track* Doheny throws much light on the whole movement. Starting life in the poorest surroundings in Tipperary, he became a local schoolmaster before he succeeded in becoming a barrister. He was fully ten years or more senior to the group of very young men who looked to him and to O'Brien, as men of established positions in life, for guidance and leadership. In his rapid survey of the years prior to 1848 he notes, as Gavan Duffy does likewise in *Young Ireland*, the marked change that had come over the meetings of the Repeal Association after O'Connell had nominated Smith O'Brien as his deputy. "The crowds that attended the Halls of the Association," he writes,[2] "no longer consisted of idle brawlers; they were listening, thoughtful mechanics, conscious of the toil and danger that lay before them, and braced for the encounter." He notes that "the parliamentary committee which had been instituted by Mr. O'Brien, had exhausted every source of information within the reach of industry in developing the resources and capacity of the country." And of O'Brien as a man he writes:[3]

> The consistency of his politics, the purity of his intentions, and the unvarying rectitude of his life gave abundant assurance, not alone that he was deeply sincere, but that his purpose could only be changed by death. But to those who looked beyond the expediency of the hour, those who had cherished fervently the passionate aspirations for true liberty, his name and character became an augury of success: nor would they intrude for any consideration on the attitude of lofty dignity he assumed.

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[1] *Young Ireland*. II. p. 192.
[2] *Felon's Track*, p. 24.
[3] *Felon's Track*, p. 34.

Doheny recalls,[1] for instance, how after the close of the State trials in 1845 O'Connell had proposed the dissolution of the Repeal Association, " with a view of establishing a new body, from which should be excluded all the ' illegal ' attributes and accidents of the old. The suggestion was resisted by Mr. O'Brien, and by all those understood to belong to what was called the Young Ireland Party. They protested against such a course as false, craven and fatal, and Mr. O'Connell at once yielded to their vehement remonstrances." And Doheny's evidence, as a Tipperary Catholic of peasant stock, is specially interesting on another most important aspect of O'Brien's leadership. Even more than Davis, he was always conscious of being at a disadvantage in interpreting the popular will through being a Protestant in a movement which consisted mainly of Catholics. The Smith O'Brien papers, which contain many unpublished letters exchanged between O'Brien and Davis, reveal how intimately they discussed their disability in this respect and how conscientiously they avoided any step or speech which might be out of sympathy with their Catholic friends. Doheny notes[2] with special emphasis, for instance, how in 1844 both Davis and O'Brien had taken a different view to most of the Catholics in the Association concerning the Charitable Bequest Act, which had made invidious discrimination against Catholic bequests. They both considered that agitation over the Act was a diversion of energies which should be wholly concentrated on Repeal, but " O'Brien never obtruded the opinion or ventured to check the Association".

This same divergence of standpoint was to produce a crisis soon afterwards, when the Colleges Bill was vehemently opposed by O'Connell and his friends. Objection to the Bill was on two different grounds. All sections were agreed in opposing its intention to exclude religious education from the new colleges, and O'Brien particularly led the demand for its amendment on this and other points during the debates in the House of Commons. But a deep division of opinion developed on the other objection, to the proposal for " mixed education "—i.e. to Colleges which should be equally acceptable to Catholics and Protestants. Thomas Wyse, who had been prominently connected with the Catholic Emancipation movement, was the chief supporter of the Bill in Parliament, and there were other influential Catholics in the movement who shared strongly his view that Catholics and Protestants ought to be educated together ; for they believed that nothing could more effectively promote national unity. To Davis and O'Brien, as Protestant Nationalists, that seemed a supremely desirable object and they believed, whether rightly or wrongly, that the Colleges Bill would promote it. Among the Catholic minority who agreed strongly with them were Wyse, who was a substantial landowner in Waterford ; Charles Gavan Duffy, who was a Catholic journalist

[1] *Felon's Track*, p. 41.
[2] *Felon's Track*, p. 36.

from Ulster; and Michael Doheny, the barrister who was a peasant's son from Tipperary. Doheny reviews[1] the story in detail, giving quotations from O'Connell's speeches during the earlier stages which appear to have been definitely favourable to " mixed education " on matters other than religious. But his son John O'Connell sided actively with Archbishop MacHale's vehement opposition to the Bill, and before long O'Connell himself adopted that attitude. John O'Connell actually " called on the people of Waterford to demand Mr. Wyse's resignation, not because he was an unfaithful representative, but because he was unchristian".

There was much more to be said in justification of O'Connell's subsequent attitude, after the split over the Bill had developed, than has been generally admitted. O'Connell has, I believe, been unfairly denounced for having treated Davis and his friends with an entirely ungenerous opposition. But a conflict could scarcely have been avoided, and those who knew O'Connell's usual methods in controversy must have made ample allowance for any harsh words he spoke during a heated debate. He had admitted quite frankly, at a meeting of the Repeal Association on July 6, that " on this subject a question of difference has arisen among ourselves. Some of the members of the Association are for what is called mixed education, and others of us are against it, but that difference of opinion ought not to create any division among us, for neither the one nor the other of us is gratified by the Bill as it stands." But John O'Connell's sectarian attitude and provocative manner soon created bitter feeling. Doheny was invited to produce, on behalf of the Association, a petition for amendments incorporating the demands on which there " could be no disagreement". He did so, but John O'Connell objected to " certain phrases " as being susceptible of an inference favourable to the principle of mixed education. He succeeded in having it cut down to a single paragraph deprecating the Tenth Clause, which vested the appointment of the college professors in the Government. Doheny was disgusted and repudiated any further connection with it, so that it was dropped. But after a fortnight a similar petition, simply protesting against the Tenth Clause, was introduced by Maurice O'Connell and carried. In this second debate John O'Connell again delivered one of his usual invectives against the bill and its abettors which led Smith O'Brien to protest against the " polemical " tone of his " protracted speech". He felt " obliged to say in candour that in some of the views he has put forward I do not agree". He insisted simply that " we have given a general concurrence in this Hall to the recommendation that has emanated from the Catholic Hierarchy". The minority, which included Smith O'Brien, succeeded in organising a personal petition to O'Connell which " recognised and welcomed the principle of united education, but strongly deprecated the objectionable provisions of the ' Godless Bills '." It was signed by

[1] *Felon's Track*, p. 56.

seventy-two Catholic barristers, and Doheny claims roundly that the signatures included " almost every educated lay Catholic in Dublin".

These assertions by Doheny must be borne in mind in considering O'Connell's famous outburst against Davis during one of these debates. George Conway, who was an effective platform speaker, delivered what Doheny calls a speech which " breathed the most fervent spirit of Catholic piety, seasoned with bitter invectives against what Mr. Conway described as a baffled faction in the Association". Doheny suggests plainly that Conway's affectation of religious zeal was sheer hypocrisy; and when Davis very foolishly commenced his reply by referring to Conway as " my Catholic friend, my *very* Catholic friend," Doheny insists that " the allusion was intelligible to almost every man in the assembly". Gavan Duffy's much fuller account[1] of the same meeting is more explicit. He describes Conway as a young man

> of good ability and loose principles, ready of speech and of singular self-possession, but whose want of conduct had robbed him of all personal weight. On political questions his brain, when not disordered by excesses, made him worth listening to, but on questions of morals or ethics his pretending to have any conviction would have been regarded by those who knew him as an offensive jest. He was by birth and education a Catholic, but the loose hold his professed creed had upon him was illustrated a few years later by his accepting the bounty of a Proselytising Association to profess himself a convert to Protestantism.

Duffy gives a quotation from his bombastic and provocative speech and calls it " tipsy rhodomontade". But it was just what O'Connell and his allies had desired that somebody else should say on their behalf, with its open attack on " the theories of Young Ireland " and its assertion that " as a Catholic and as an Irishman, while he was ready to meet his Protestant friends upon an equal platform, he would resent any attempt at ascendancy, whether it came from honest Protestants or honest professing Catholics".

This was a plain attack upon Davis; and what made it intolerable was the immediate demonstration of applause by Daniel O'Connell himself. Doheny, who was present at the meeting, asserts[2] that " Mr. O'Connell took off his cap, waved it repeatedly over his head, and cheered vociferously". But there was worse to come. Davis opened his reply by referring ironically to " the useful, judicious and spirited speech of my old college friend, my Catholic friend, my very Catholic friend Mr. Conway." O'Connell sprang to Conway's defence, calling out: " It is no crime to be a Catholic, I hope." Davis was taken aback and replied: " No, surely no, for—" when O'Connell retorted ruthlessly: " The sneer with which you used the word would lead to the inference." Davis was deeply moved and replied with an earnest speech in self-defence. But O'Connell had lost patience with these self-confident young men

[1] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 174.
[2] *Felon's Track*, p. 63.

who had been creating a serious challenge to his hitherto unquestioned authority. He made a second speech in reply to Davis. Both Smith O'Brien and Henry Grattan, who were present on the platform, were directly involved in the celebrated scene which followed. O'Connell asserted deliberately:

> The section of politicians styling themselves the Young Ireland Party, anxious to rule the destinies of this country, start up and support this measure. There is no such party as that styled 'Young Ireland'. There may be a few individuals who take the denomination on themselves. I am for Old Ireland. 'Tis time that this delusion should be put an end to. Young Ireland may play what pranks they please. I do not envy them the name they rejoice in. I shall stand by Old Ireland; and I have some slight notion that Old Ireland will stand by me.

The challenge affected O'Brien no less than Davis, and the incident marks a decisive point in O'Brien's public life. Duffy records[1] that both he and Grattan remonstrated immediately with O'Connell, "for in a few minutes he rose again to withdraw the nickname of 'Young Ireland', as he understood it was disclaimed by those to whom it was applied." Davis then rose to repudiate the assumption that there were factions in the Association and "protested his personal affection for O'Connell" which, he said, he had "habitually expressed in his private correspondence with his dearest and closest friends". His sensitive nature had been hurt intensely by O'Connell's insults, and he burst into tears. But in truth O'Connell's language had been almost restrained in comparison with the ferocious invectives that he had employed for many years against all who disagreed with him. It is impossible to believe that he was not distressed to see what pain he had caused to young men whose honesty he had never doubted; and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the gesture[2] with which he at once seized Davis by the hand, exclaiming: "Davis, I love you."

In a letter[3] to Smith O'Brien after the meeting Davis expressed his wounded feelings. He said that he

> would not interfere again till an attempt be made to pledge the Association to evil resolutions. If the O'Connells wish, they can ruin the agitation (not the country) in spite of anyone. Between unaccounted funds, bigotry, billingsgate, Tom Steele missions, crude and contradictory dogmas, and unrelieved stupidity, any cause and any system could be ruined. America too, from whence arose 'the cloud in the west' which alarmed Peel, has been deeply offended, and but for the *Nation* there would not now be one Repeal Club in America.

Davis was determined not to be driven out by John O'Connell's intrigues. "A dogged temper and a point of honour induce me to remain in the Association at every sort of sacrifice, and will keep me there while there is a chance, even a remote one, of doing good in it." Even more

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[1] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 177.
[2] *Felon's Track*, p. 64.
[3] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 184.

than Davis, Smith O'Brien must have felt disgusted by the attacks made on his friends and by the squalid vituperation that he had heard so frequently in the Repeal Association since he joined it only a year before. For some fifteen years he had been a distinguished and respected figure in Irish public life, and in the House of Commons he had been on terms of confidence and complete equality with men like Spring Rice, M.P. for Limerick, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and with the leading members of all parties. Since joining the Repeal Association he had found O'Connell studiously polite to him personally and anxious to pay close heed to any of his suggestions; but it was the younger men who won his sympathy and convinced him that he could be of service to them. Davis in a letter[1] to Denny Lane at the same period emphasised the real power exercised by the Committees in spite of all appearances. John O'Connell, for instance, had there been "severely lectured by O'Brien"; and it was O'Brien who had occupied the chair at both committees which had passed "resolutions positively for mixed education". He mentions too that O'Brien had been "within an ace of leaving the Hall on Monday during Johnny's speech". It was O'Brien who had written[2] to him (Davis) earlier in the year: "I must positively insist on your taking the chair next Monday. The time is come when you ought to take a prominent part in Irish affairs." And it was he who, with a generous sympathy, had restrained Davis during an earlier controversy with O'Connell, in October 1844, concerning his defence of D. O. Maddyn in the *Nation* against the attack on him in the *Dublin Review*. One of its book reviewers had denounced Maddyn because he had turned Protestant, but Davis insisted in the *Nation* that a man's religious views should be treated as irrelevant in discussing the merits of his historical writings. "The question at issue is religious liberty," Davis wrote privately[3] to O'Brien. "I for one will not sacrifice my right to it for any consideration . . . . If I am to be set upon for these things and the *Nation* officially denounced, or systematically run down for them, I pause ere I give any more help to put power into the hands of men with such intolerant principles."

On such questions O'Brien was even more likely than Davis to be sensitive to what seemed like an infringement of his rights to speak freely as a sincere Protestant. It is not easy now to appreciate the impassable gulf which in those days divided Protestants from Catholics. Davis as a journalist had mixed with Catholics for years, whereas O'Brien hardly knew any of them except in public affairs. This controversy over a book review in the *Dublin Review* could scarcely have interested more than a fraction of the *Nation's* readers, but it so happened that Smith O'Brien as well

[1] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 185.
[2] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 131.
[3] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 128.

as Davis had read[1] Maddyn's *Ireland and Its Rulers* with pleasure and approval. He must have felt strong sympathy with the letter in which Davis begged of him to ask O'Connell to "stop the bigoted attacks on the *Nation*". Davis wrote[2] to him indignantly: "I will not be the conscious tool of bigots. I will not strive to beat down political in order to set up religious ascendancy. You, unless I have much mistaken you, will subscribe to what I now say."

It was a subject on which O'Brien felt strongly, and he did write a letter of protest to O'Connell. But he wrote a soothing letter to Davis which reveals how much his mature experience and his unselfish devotion to the movement must have contributed to preserving unity among its leaders during this difficult period. To Davis he replied[3]:

I have read the letter of an Irish priest. It is very clever, very Catholic, and if unity were not essential it would be a fair manifestation of opinion adverse to those promulgated by the *Nation*. I need not say I agree much more with the opinions of the writers in the *Nation* than with those of the Irish priest; but then you and I should remember that we are Protestants and that the bulk of the Irish nation are Catholics. I foresee, however, that unless O'Connell is able and willing to act as a mediator on the present occasion, we shall have a PRIEST and an ANTI-PRIEST party among the Catholics of Ireland. This I should much deplore. Unity is essential to our success, and therefore division at present would be madness; but even if Repeal were won, I should deeply regret such encroachments on the part of the clergy as would justify organised resistance or, what is quite as bad, infidel hostility to all those feelings and opinions upon which religion rests. I make these observations without professing any sort of propagandism in regard of the matter of Faith, and as an uncompromising advocate of civil and religious liberty in its most unlimited sense.

That flutter had arisen towards the end of 1844, but more serious issues arose during the following year in which the O'Connells were in conflict with the views of O'Brien and Davis particularly; and this suspicion of their views being dominated by anti-Catholic prejudices was always present in the background. O'Brien himself was most scrupulous to avoid giving any substance to such suspicions, which he knew to be inevitable. But he and Davis exercised a great influence over the ablest and most sincere of the younger men; and that also gave rise to jealousy. Duffy gives[4] a short list of those with whom O'Brien was chiefly associated in his first efforts to improve the standard of representation in Parliament. The O'Connells naturally favoured candidates who seemed to deserve a reward for years of political service. But O'Brien's chief associates were Davis, Dillon, McNevin, Barry and Richard O'Gorman, apart from his personal friend O'Neill Daunt, a Tipperary landowner who became O'Connell's personal secretary and who was an almost unique figure in

[1] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 232.
[2] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 127.
[3] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 130.
[4] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 52.

those years as an Irish Protestant who had become a Catholic. Young McNevin, who was older than Davis or Duffy, seemed to O'Brien to be a most suitable candidate for Parliament. To Davis he wrote: "I look upon him as a man of real genius with great capacity for public affairs; but as one who wants a great deal of discipline. A couple of years training in the House of Commons, where he would probably at first encounter many disappointments, would lop off some of his exuberances and chasten his action, which is too theatrical."[1]

It was inevitable that O'Connell and his older followers should find it irksome when their wishes were opposed by these newcomers, who found ready at their disposal the great political organisation which he had created with so much labour and risk. Yet O'Connell's many letters to O'Brien show that he was capable of real magnanimity. He had borne the whole burden of directing and extending the agitation for so long that he was feeling the weight of years. He was quite genuinely grateful to O'Brien for accepting the responsibilities of leadership while he was in prison. One letter particularly, asking for his advice in January 1845, cannot be dismissed as flattery:

> *Aux ordres*, as they say in France. I cheerfully obey your commands, for your wish is to me a command. . . . Reckon, therefore, on my meeting you at the Association on Monday and returning you thanks for your inestimable services. You literally are a living treasure to the cause.

O'Connell even asked[2] O'Brien to decide for him whether he should go to London and attend Parliament. "Are we to go over? Decide for me as well as for yourself, and if that decision be in favour of action—I mean, of course, of going over—I will leave for Dublin immediately after I get your answer." O'Brien had brought most useful recruits also to the Repeal movement from the small class of benevolent landowners with whom he had always been associated. It was a great reinforcement to O'Connell in the House of Commons to have among his leading supporters a member of the landed aristocracy who had won the esteem of all parties by his integrity and deliberate restraint in speech. No one else could have replied so effectively as O'Brien did to a speech in which Macaulay had proclaimed that Repeal would never be conceded—"never, though another Bonaparte should pitch his camp in sight of Dover Castle; never, till all things have been staked and lost." O'Brien replied with a statement[3] which from a man of lesser standing would have been either derided as hysterical or punished for sedition:

> I tell Mr. Macaulay that if the contingency which he contemplates were to happen, it would then be too late to negotiate with the people of Ireland. I tell him that if fifty-thousand French stood on the strand of Normandy ready to pass over by steam to the undefended shores of Britain, if an American fleet swept the Irish

[1] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 51.
[2] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 136.
[3] *Young Ireland*, II., p. 147.

Channel and carried on board regiments of Irish emigrants enrolled, armed and disciplined, ready to land on Irish soil to defend the rights of their native land; if the Irish soldiers in the British army, forming one-third of that entire force, should refuse to shed the blood of their fellow-countrymen, if one million of the natives of Ireland resident in England and Scotland were prepared, as I am of opinion they would be prepared, to co-operate with the firm resolve of the people of this country; if such a state of things should come to pass, why, then, the consummation which Mr. Macaulay appears to contemplate would take place—the British Empire would be broken up, and thenceforward the history of Ireland would be written as that of a separate and independent country.

Never for a moment could there be doubts concerning the permanence of O'Brien's conversion to Repeal. It was he who had proposed the celebrated pledge to continue the agitation at the solemn celebrations after O'Connell's victory in the State Trials. Doheny recalls[1] that a sub-committee, with Davis and Sir Colman O'Loghlen as its principal members, was appointed to arrange what form the celebration should take. They decided in favour of a public levee " to which were summoned whatever there was of respectability, authority, genius and worth in the island, which recognised the wisdom, justice and holiness of the struggle for Nationhood". The assembly in the Round Room of the Rotunda was indeed an extraordinary and overwhelming sight. Upon O'Brien devolved the duty of officially welcoming O'Connell and the other liberated prisoners. But the climax of the occasion was the public adoption of the Repeal pledge, which had been meticulously drafted to provide a programme which Government could not prevent. It began with "a solemn pledge that corruption shall not seduce, nor deceit cajole, nor intimidation deter us from seeking to obtain for Ireland the blessings of self-government through a national legislature "; and it ended with a pledge by all its signatories " that we will never desist from seeking the Repeal of the Union with England by all peaceable, moral and constitutional means, until a parliament be restored to Ireland". In the presence of most of the Irish mayors and of all the country delegates, with the Eighty-Two Club conspicuous in their green uniforms among a multitude of supporters, O'Brien read out the pledge and Grattan's son seconded it.

Davis, in letters[2] to several of his friends, gives a memorable picture of that occasion from which so much was hoped. " The most impressive scene I ever witnessed in a popular assembly," he wrote to Maddyn, " was when O'Brien proposed the pledge. He shook like an oak in storm with excitement, and his voice was like the wind through its boughs." To Pigot also he reported:

[It was] the most imposing scene I ever witnessed. When O'Brien came to propose the pledge, the corporations were seated in order down the side of the pillar-room; the Club and others on the floor; an oval space was in the centre with O'Brien at one end and the Chair at the other; I was close to O'B., and his

[1] *Felon's Track*, p. 64.
[2] *Life of Davis*, p. 310.

breast heaved and his eyes clouded and his voice gurgled with passion. The assembly was as solemn, and the pledge was taken in earnest. The ' martyrs ' (the Repeal prisoners) were present, and they signed the parchment afterwards. The round room was really a noble sight, and our Club curved round the seven oligarchs and, stretching into the passages, gave it a military air. The procession was immense, and spectators up to the chimney-tops. Among the lookers-on was the Lord Lieutenant. He was in a room in Sackville Street. The day was really great, and the effects will be serious.

But tragedy overshadowed it all. Those who shared O'Connell's imprisonment in Richmond Jail had become aware that his mental powers were rapidly failing. The softening of the brain, which within a year was to leave him a physical as well as a mental wreck, had made him suddenly grow senile. Much of the bitter controversy that ensued must be judged with reference to his failing powers. His sudden approval of federalism as an alternative to Repeal, and the irresponsible way in which he announced it while professing a desire for previous consultation, were obviously symptoms of senile decay. But the letter[1] which he wrote to Smith O'Brien from Derrynane concerning the federal proposals reveals what reliance he had come to place upon O'Brien and what a relief it was to him to be able to share the responsibilities of leadership :

This I say to you, that your accession to the Repeal cause has been the efficient cause of this advance, and I do not hesitate to say further and to pledge myself not to assent to any plan for the restoration of the Irish Parliament, or to any of the details of any such plan, that meets with your disapprobation. We go together ; that is, you go with me, because I certainly will not go a single step without you. No man living has been more fortunate than you in the opportunity of showing personal independence. Whatever you do will be the result of your own judgment ; and differ with me who may, I will not differ with you. If you were, in my opinion, so wrong as to violate principle I would retire : I would cease to act, and would do so rather than join in any course I deemed unjust or injurious. But while I *do* act, I will act with you. I am thoroughly convinced that, without your accession to the Repeal cause, years upon years would elapse before we made any impression upon the general Protestant mind. Ireland owes you an unlimited debt of gratitude, and the popular confidence in you can never be shaken.

Through 1845 the relations between O'Connell and O'Brien remained unchanged. He regarded O'Brien as the ideal intermediary between Protestants and Catholics ; but Davis irritated him, partly because of his restless activity and his dogmatic manner, but not least because the memory of their controversy over the *Dublin Review* still rankled. But death suddenly swept Davis from the scene towards the close of this year (1845), and his death deprived O'Brien of his most intimate associate in the Young Ireland movement.

DENIS GWYNN

[1] *Young Ireland*, II., pp. 230-1.

A FAMOUS IRISH WAR CORRESPONDENT

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

IT was not till the Crimean campaign in the fifties of the last century that correspondents of great newspapers accompanied armies to the battlefields as non-combatants. Recognised by international agreement as part of the engaging forces, these correspondents soon developed into a specialised branch of journalism. The glamour and danger inseparable from such a life seemed to make particular appeal to Irishmen, and after some time they came to form a comparatively large proportion of the correspondents figuring in the numerous military campaigns of the last decades of the nineteenth century. A statue of one of them, MacGahan, embellishes a main boulevard in the city of Sofia. It was his reports in 1877 on the Turkish massacres in Bulgaria which first roused European statesmen like Gladstone to active interference in the affairs of that country and led to its emancipation. Of greater fame was Edmund O'Donovan, whose short life was crowded with adventure from its beginning to its tragic close. A son of John O'Donovan, the illustrious Irish scholar, it must appear strange that, reared in the peaceful, studious atmosphere of the paternal home, he should have followed so wayward a career. His father's minute researches in the family lineage throw a little light, perhaps, on the apparent contradiction. A grand-uncle and namesake—Edmund O'Donovan—went to France in the eighteenth century, soldiered in the Irish Brigade and came back temporarily to Ireland in 1736 to recruit for the Wild Geese. Arrested and imprisoned for what was in English law a penal offence, he returned later to France, fought in various campaigns and died on some unknown battlefield. The ultimate fate, too, of another granduncle who, following an ocean-faring life, sailed the seven seas, remained a mystery. And considering the career of wild adventure of the great Irish scholar's son, one thinks that the expressive Gaelic saying *Is treise dúthchas ná oileamhaint* may explain many such seeming anomalies.

" Edmund, born 12 September 1844 on Friday at 12 o'c. at 49 Bay View Avenue, Dublin. Baptised Sunday 22 September." So runs the birth entry of his third son as privately recorded by John O'Donovan who, on coming to Dublin from Kilkenny, settled in the modest house that still stands at Clontarf. After being tutored for a short time at home by his father, Edmund O'Donovan became a pupil of the Jesuit College of Belvedere in 1857. From that institution, where he showed a special aptitude for languages, chemistry and military engineering, he went to the College of Science in Stephen's Green and later entered Trinity College as a student of medicine. While there he acted as assistant

librarian, but eventually abandoned medical studies and, taking to free-lance journalism, he began to contribute to various Dublin journals and at the same time assisted his father in his literary work. At the time of the latter's death in 1861 the Fenian movement was beginning to spread throughout Ireland and was attracting into its ranks all the nationally-minded young men of the country. Edmund O'Donovan, with two of his brothers, was sworn into the movement by the Fenian leader, O'Donovan Rossa, who was an intimate friend of their father. Of the fifteen circles of Fenianism in Dublin Edmund O'Donovan became head-centre of one which was largely composed of students of Trinity College. An enthusiast for the cause, he devoted to it the knowledge of chemistry and military engineering he had acquired at the College of Science. He was induced by James Stephens, Head Centre of the Republican Brotherhood, to write a practical handbook on the use of the rifle which was circulated among the circles in the country. In addition the Fenian chief sent him as an organiser to various counties, and during his journeyings he taught the manufacture of cartridges.

O'Donovan's activities became known to the English authorities, and in February 1866 he was arrested and lodged in Mountjoy prison. At this time Sir Thomas Larcom was Under-Secretary for Ireland and as such was the official in Dublin Castle mainly responsible for combating and suppressing Fenianism. He had previously been superintendent of the Ordnance Survey Department, and an intimate friendship existed between him and John O'Donovan who worked under him in that institution. Before the latter died in 1861 he requested Larcom to act as guardian of his sons. In 1866, accordingly, when Edmund O'Donovan was a prisoner in Mountjoy, Larcom found himself in an embarrassing position. Within a few days, however, he ordered Edmund's release, after which he tried to extract a promise from him to abandon the militant movement. Young O'Donovan refused to do so and, within a few months, was re-arrested. Larcom again intervened, procured his release and, on this occasion, intemperately declared that he would take no further interest in him. Towards the end of 1866 Edmund was once more arrested at Limerick, was tried and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. On hearing this Larcom swore that he would let him rot in jail. Again, however, the Under-Secretary relented, ordered his release and once more O'Donovan returned to his revolutionary activities. By this time a Rising seemed imminent, and among the plans in the Dublin area was one for the capture of the Magazine Fort and the Pigeon House where immense quantities of ammunition were stored. The plan was drawn up by Edmund O'Donovan. A year later at the trial of General Halpin, who had come to Ireland from the United States for the Rising and had been appointed commander for the Dublin district, the notorious informer, Corydon, appeared as a Crown witness to give evidence against the Irish-American

officer. Part of the long cross-examination of Corydon by the prisoner was as follows :—

H. Where did we first meet?
C. We met first at Carey's hotel in Bridge Street.
H. What business brought you there?
C. You were laying out plans for me to do. I saw you with maps of the Magazine in the Park and the Pigeon House.
H. Do I understand you to say that I had chalked out on paper the exact mode in which these places should be attacked?
C. Not chalked out; they were beautifully drawn out.
H. I am afraid you are giving me too much credit?
C. You did not do it; you had another man to draw them out.
H. I want to know who he is?
C. You had two to do it.
H. Who are they?
C. Edward O'Donovan, son of Dr. O'Donovan; and his brother was there who was taken with a revolver one night.

The insurrection, fixed for 6 March 1867, proved for various reasons almost completely abortive, and O'Donovan escaped arrest by fleeing the country. Like a number of other Fenian refugees he settled in Paris, where he particularly devoted himself to linguistic studies. There is a pen portrait of him while there by an Irish journalist, John Augustus O'Shea :—

Our Irish colony (at Paris) was strengthened about this period (1867) by the arrival of a sprightly young fellow who has since annexed a niche in history, Edmund O'Donovan. A gay but purposeful stripling, he was well-read, quick of perception and brimming with virility. In chemistry and military engineering he was an adept, and he bought and borrowed all the treatises he could find on the subjects. He knew heraldry, medicine, could sketch, shoot, lecture, botanise, quote Milton, handle conic sections, sleep on a table and was master of many other minor accomplishments. The study of Arabic was his passion while in the Rue de Fossés St. Victor.

During O'Donovan's sojourn in Paris the Franco-German war broke out in 1870. Eager for adventure, he joined at Sedan the Foreign Legion of the French army, in which he was given the rank of lieutenant. In Ireland the sympathy of the mass of the people was with France, and a movement was started to give practical effect to it by recruiting an Irish Brigade to fight in the French ranks. International law, however, prevented this and in its stead an ambulance corps was sent which carried with it a number of men beyond its necessary requirements. These were incorporated in the Foreign Legion at Tours, and O'Donovan was recognised as their chief. Moved to the front as the advance guard of the Army of the Loire, the Legion was soon in action. It suffered heavy losses and was finally forced to retreat into Orleans pursued by the Germans. In that city the fighting was intense; the streets were swept by artillery fire, causing heavy casualties. O'Donovan was hit by a shell, rendered unconscious and captured. His own account of the experience is vivid :

I was in the act of picking off a huge Saxon when a sudden crash at my side caused me to turn. I remember nothing more until I opened my eyes to see a helmeted German pouring water over my face. I had been wounded and was evidently a prisoner. No chassepot was near me, and in the distance I could see the red kepis of my comrades moving to and fro. By degrees I became thoroughly conscious of my exact position, and another comrade, wounded also, was by my side, whom I recognised as Sergeant Codilski of my own company.

O'Donovan was interned as a prisoner of war in Straubing in Bavaria till the peace came. While there he sent an account of his experiences during the war to various Dublin and London newspapers. Returning to Ireland he tried with varying success to vivify the Fenian spirit, which had weakened owing to the failure of the Rising four years before. While he was engaged in this work the Carlist insurrection broke out in northern Spain, and in 1873 he set out for that country as special correspondent for *The Times* and *The Freeman's Journal*. He became attached to the government forces, while his younger brother Henry, who had qualified as a doctor, was in that capacity with the Carlist insurgents. On his return to Ireland in the following year he once more devoted himself to the revival and spread of Fenianism and was appointed organiser for the north of England by its Supreme Council. He was again called away from this work in 1874 by the outbreak of war in south-eastern Europe, where Bosnia and Herzegovina rose against Turkey. The *Daily News* selected him as its correspondent in the campaign, graphic accounts of which he furnished to its columns. In the following year he journeyed to Asia Minor as representative of the same newspaper during the war between Russia and Turkey.

On his return to England in 1879 O'Donovan was hailed as the foremost war correspondent of the day. The *Daily News* presented him with a gift of £1,000 and at its suggestion he undertook, again as its representative, his famous journey to Merv.[1] His energy and courage as well as his familiarity with the language and dialects of Mahomedan nations marked him out as most fitting for that difficult and perilous mission. Merv was an extensive oasis, six hundred square miles in extent, in central Asia inhabited by the Turcomans, a wild and turbulent people. Never subject to any regular form of government, they kept their country jealously closed against travellers, and they particularly dreaded a Russian invasion of their territory. It had long been a dream of explorers and travellers to penetrate its mysteries, but the perilous journey through desert and swamp and the reputed ferocity of its inhabitants damped the ardour of the most adventurous.

Setting out in 1879, O'Donovan within a few weeks reached through Russia the shores of the Caspian Sea, whence he rode into northern Persia. Here he encountered many obstacles from the officials of that country, which he overcame by his tact and daring. Passing through Khorassan he

[1] He is said to have handed over the £1,000 to the Fenian funds.

rode boldly into the desert, accompanied by a Kurd servant during the later stages of his journey towards Merv. The ride through vast waterless spaces was one of hardship and peril by reason of sandstorms, the intense heat and prowling bands of marauders. After many vicissitudes he reached Merv, where for nearly half a year he was to be at once a guest and a prisoner among the Turcomans. The large two-volumed work[1] which he wrote on his return gives a vivid account of his experiences and a realistic picture of the manners, customs and mode of government of the inhabitants of Merv. Its pages show a style of some distinction as well as an acute power of observation. Here is an example of both in a description of his first approach to Merv :

> From the summit of a grassy hill I had a fine view of the plain, reaching away northward and eastward. Although it was early in the year, the rays of the sun were intensely hot, and the further reaches of the plain appeared of an aerial blue tint, such as in northern climes we are accustomed to associate with the sky rather than the earth. Far and wide were scattered countless towns and villages—all deserted, their lonely walls and towers standing out, grimly desolate, in the white mid-day blaze. Scores of ancient mounds dotted the plain. The vast expanse, marked with all the traces of vanished life, quivering and dancing in the mirage, had about it something weird and unearthly that filled the mind with a sense of desolation and loneliness.

At first suspected, on his arrival among the Turcomans, of being a Russian, O'Donovan's life was in continuous danger. A change, however, gradually set in. All day long and far into the night the house allotted to him was filled with chiefs from the various clans, who discussed with him the prospects and chances of having to fight the Russians. Despite his protests that his mission was solely to inform the outer world of the true state of affairs in Merv, they began to regard him as a representative of the British government. Soon convinced that he was in no way associated with Russian interests, they became so friendly that his advice and decision were sought on every measure connected with public policy. Finally elected to the ' Triumvirate ', a body invested with supreme authority, he functioned as one of the three rulers of Merv. In that capacity he became part of the intimate life of the community and mixed in their wild sports and festivities. Gradually, however, life among them became monotonous and wearisome and, at the end of five months, he announced his intention of leaving. This was received with a certain amount of suspicion, and permission was not granted until a council of Turcoman chiefs agreed to fall in with his wishes after a long discussion.

* * *

After his return home O'Donovan settled down to write his book on Merv, on finishing which he set out again on what was to be his last and tragic adventure.

[1] It is entitled " The Merv Oasis. Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian during the years 1879-80-81, including five months residence among the Tekkes of Merv. By Edmund O'Donovan."

In the year 1882 affairs in the Soudan under the government of Egypt had reached a crisis. Unscrupulous tax-gatherers and agents of the latter had long been plundering and ill-treating the Arab population with impunity. Driven to desperation the native tribes, gathering round the Mahdi—a religious enthusiast called by his followers " God's Prophet "—rose on all sides to drive the foreigner from their country. Early in 1883 an Egyptian army of 12,000 men—a mixed force of native Egyptians, Blacks and a small number of European officers—under the command of Colonel Hicks Pasha, an Anglo-Indian officer, was despatched to crush the Mahdi's revolt. In May of that year O'Donovan, as correspondent of the *Daily News*, was commissioned to attach himself to this expeditionary force. His own intention was not only to chronicle the events of the campaign, but also to explore the country and write a book on his experiences. Arriving in Egypt he crossed the desert from Suakim to Berber, pushed on to Khartoum where he joined the Egyptian army. In a book of adventures, entitled " With Hicks Pasha in the Soudan," Colonel the Hon. J. Colborne, whom a serious illness compelled to abandon Colonel Hicks's force, has left a picture of O'Donovan at this time :

> Four days after leaving Khartoum I arrived at Berber, the point at which I was to bid farewell to the Nile and strike across the desert to Suakim. . . . Whilst lying on the deck of my *dahabeeah* (boat), exhausted by the heat and enfeebled by dysentery, I observed the singular figure of a man watching me from the bank. He was clad in a loose *caftan* (vest) and wore a *tarboosh* (red felt cap), swathed in the ample folds of a silken *konfieh*, the picturesque scarf worn by the Arabs as a protection against the burning rays of the sun. His girdle was furnished with dagger and pistol, and his nether man was encased in boots and breeches. His face was tanned and he was bearded ' like the pard '. The wearer of this incongruous costume was O'Donovan, the adventurous war correspondent, whose name has recently been before the public in connection with his plucky and desperate ride to Merv in Central Asia.

Early in September Hicks Pasha's army moved on from Khartoum to Omdurman. While its soldiers were of the poorest quality, internal discords among officers and men much weakened its morale. The Mahdi's tribesmen on the other hand were fanatically brave, and they were well-armed. By this time, too, the Egyptian force were suffering from the climate and lack of provisions. In a despatch on the last day of September O'Donovan writing from a place thirty miles south-west of Duem reported that the heat was intense and that the camels were daily dying in considerable numbers. Later another letter from him tells of his uneasiness regarding the water supply : " We have halted for the past eight days owing to the uncertainty of the water supply in front. Here we are entirely dependent on surface pools. The water supply is the cause of intense anxiety. The camels are dropping."

After a halt at Duem the expeditionary army moved across the desert to Rahed. Of evil omen were the flocks of vultures that followed its track, and Hicks Pasha realised that disaster awaited him unless he struck a

quick and decisive blow against the Mahdi. At this time, too, O'Donovan's reports to the *Daily News* became more and more gloomy. From Duem on 23 September he had written a private letter to an Irish journalist friend. It was to be his last communication to the outside world, and it proved prophetic regarding his own fate and that of the expeditionary force. It ran :

> . . . . We are eleven thousand strong and with no end of artillery and cavalry, but the enemy is double that strength and holds very strong positions. After to-morrow we march, and in six or seven days' after we expect to have a sanguinary engagement. All the expeditions which preceded us during the past two years have been defeated with disaster. Let us hope ours won't share the same fate. I am writing this under circumstances which bring me almost as near to death as it is possible to be without being under absolute sentence of execution or in the throes of some deadly malady. . . . However to die out here with a lancehead as big as a shovel through one will meet my views better than the slow gradual sinking into the grave which is the lot of so many. You must know that here we are fifteen hundred miles south of Cairo in the midst of a wild almost unexplored country. The Egyptian army with which I am here camped on the banks of the Nile will have but one chance given them—one tremendous pitched battle. We are obliged to march in square with our baggage and water camels, five thousand in number, in our midst, lest the enemy's cavalry surprise us. . . .

Just before reaching Rahad a German non-commissioned officer, Gustav Klootz, who was O'Donovan's servant, foreseeing the probable annihilation of the Egyptian army, deserted to the camp of the Mahdi. Brought before the latter, who questioned him regarding the enemy army, Klootz replied that its condition could not be worse, that its morale was weak, and that it lacked courage and harmony. It was an entirely truthful picture that Klootz gave of the state of the Egyptian army which, at the end of October, marched towards El Obeid where the great mass of the Soudanese were mobilised. From the first of November the former was subject to almost continuous fire at close range from a hidden enemy. For on that date a guide in the Mahdi's pay led Hicks's force to a rocky defile without water where they were held in ambush by the Soudanese armed with rifles and artillery. For three days Hicks, unable to use his guns, gallantly defended himself. On the fourth day, their cartridges being exhausted, he ordered a bayonet charge with himself at its head. It was unflinchingly met by the tribesmen, who swept against it with the cry of " For God and his Prophet ! " The Egyptian army, worn out by thirst and fatigue, offered little resistance and was annihilated almost to a man. In the holocaust Edmund O'Donovan was among the slain. As has been stated, he foresaw the end shortly before when he reported that " the Mahdi is mustering all his men and I am greatly afraid we shall get the worst of it, when not a man will escape." And again in the Diary of a slain European officer was found the entry : " I spoke to Mr. O'Donovan to-day and asked him where he thought we should be eight days hence ?—' In Kingdom Come ' was his reply."

A legend grew up among his friends at home that O'Donovan escaped the holocaust, had reached the Mahdi's camp and was killed fighting against the Anglo-Egyptian force that later crushed the Soudanese revolt. Authentic evidence, however, proved that the legend had no foundation in fact. Klootz, his servant, the deserter to the Mahdi's camp, was after the massacre at El Obeid moving round the corpse-strewn battlefield and recognised there many of the bodies, including that of Hicks Pasha. He was especially on the watch for that of O'Donovan, to whom he was affectionately attached. After a while he observed a leather case in a bush which he recognised as his old master's, and in it were his manuscripts spattered with blood. Searching further he found pieces of his body, torn by hyenas, and beside them was his blood-stained mackintosh. The last entry in the manuscripts read : " Here I am making notes and writing my papers—but who is going to take them home ? " Klootz brought the manuscripts to the Mahdi's camp and presented them to Father Ohrwalder, an Austrian Catholic missionary priest who was a prisoner there. Unfortunately they were mislaid and are lost for ever.

* * *

When the circumstances of O'Donovan's end were verified, all the great newspapers of the day paid tribute to his outstanding character. In his native country especially his friends mourned the death of a singularly engaging and distinctive personality. An old Fenian comrade, recalling earlier days of friendship, wrote in a rhapsody :

> His was a tall, lithe form, a mobile Celtic face, a laughing eye in whose twinkle was humour, friendship and the love of that airy freedom which had urged him onward until he was elected a white prince among the dusty monarchs of Merv. Almost girlish in his gentleness and trustful simplicity, I felt a pang that caused me to reproach Rossa for boasting that he had ' baptised ' that tender stripling whom he was proud of as ' a grand young fellow '. To see one so youthful and so delicately formed brought with ourselves under the shadow of the gallows gave me a pain which I remember to this hour. Edmund O'Donovan was conscious of his danger and was as ready to face it as the manliest of the Fenian host. And with all his exquisite fancy and glowing imagination he was practical and particularly scientific. . . .

During the Soudanese campaign the sympathy of the Irish people was almost entirely with the tribesmen.[1] The most widely-read Irish newspaper of the time, *United Ireland*, reflecting popular opinion, expressed its wishes for success in their effort " to hunt the whole horde of Egypto-British usurers and taskmasters out of their country". And referring to O'Donovan's death, it continued : " Woe, however, to Ireland that he (the Mahdi) had not known that one gallant adventurer in the file of the Englishman hated the Saxon with a hatred that not even a mahdi could surpass. Peace to the ashes of Edmund O'Donovan ! His dying moments

[1] Sympathy was also expressed by a certain number of Englishmen. Gladstone, for example, declared that the Soudanese were " rightly struggling to be free".

must have been consoled by the thought of the ruin which the disaster (at El Obeid) wrought on English projects in Egypt."

Of all the tributes to O'Donovan's character the most unexpected appeared in a brochure published after his death. It was entitled " The Repeal of the Union conspiracy ", and it contained scathing attacks not only on Parnell and his lieutenants but on the Fenian leaders. While all alike were characterised as assassins, self-seekers, etc., the anonymous author goes out of his way to except O'Donovan from his condemnations :

> The most distinguished literary man ever known to be in the ranks of Fenianism was undoubtedly Edmund O'Donovan, the well-known Asiatic traveller and writer, who was a V (provincial organiser) for the north of England. I must pay a tribute to the memory of O'Donovan, who was the most earnest and sincere believer in the righteousness of the Fenian cause. Far from deriving subsistence from the funds of the organisation, the large profits which he derived from his books were always placed with a free hand at the disposal of the Brotherhood, and before leaving for Egypt he bequeathed all his property in trust for the movement.

All the memories left of him by his friends, as well as the facts we know of his colourful career, reveal Edmund O'Donovan as at once a dreamer and a man of action, an enthusiast and a realist, and in most ways as typically Irish. And it seems not a little incongruous that the only memorial to one who was a sworn enemy of foreign rule in Ireland is a plaque in Saint Paul's Cathedral in the heart of England's capital.

RICHARD HAYES

TERCENTENARY OF A MARTYR

SAINT ISAAC JOGUES, S.J.: MARTYRED 18 OCTOBER 1646

BY DONAL O'SULLIVAN, S.J.

IF praise be a criterion of worth, then Isaac Jogues and his fellow Jesuit missionaries of the Seventeenth Century in North America were men of a rare fibre; and the Company to which they belong could live richly on the superfluous alms of their praise. It is praise all the more striking in that it comes, in great part, from non-Catholic pens. Parkman, the agnostic American historian, launched many a blunt attack against Catholic faith and practice. Yet of these men, from whom he must have drawn no little inspiration in his own magnificent fight with pain, he could write: "A fervour more intense, a self-abnegation more complete, a self-devotion more constant and enduring, will scarcely find its record on the page of human history. Not one of this loyal band flinched or hesitated." Reuben Gold Thwaites, the editor of the Burrows edition of *The Jesuit Relations*, is no less eulogistic: "The mission of the French Jesuits to those widely-scattered hordes of savages forms one of the most thrilling chapters in human history. Never in any field has been witnessed greater personal heroism than theirs." On that heroism and on that sanctity the Church has set her seal by the Canonisation as martyrs of eight of their number on June 29, 1930: Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, Anthony Daniel, Charles Garnier, Noël Chabanel, René Goupil, Jean de la Lande. For those who are familiar with their epic story those names are a bede-roll of bravery; for the Indians who tortured and slew them they so personified that virtue that they ate the martyrs' hearts and drank their blood that they might have some part and share in their courage. But what their torturers did not know and what many of their admirers forget is that their death was essentially a testimony to Catholic truth. Their courage and their death has a far profounder significance than the courage and death of an explorer or a soldier. Martyrdom is an act elicited by the virtue of fortitude, related to the faith as to its end and commanded by charity which gives it its meritorious value. It is a testimony that has been repeated in every age and in almost every land. Associated though it is in most minds with missionary endeavour, it is by no means confined to pagan lands; there is far more likelihood of martyrdom in the Europe of to-day than in any of the missionary countries. The story of Isaac Jogues, then, has a pertinence in this tercentenary year of his death, when martyrdom has become once more a commonplace and men need and look for the light of a great exemplar.

Isaac Jogues was a man of Orleans, the third son of the merchant

Laurent Jogues and his wife Françoise de Saint-Mesmin. He was born in 1607, some fourteen years after Henry of Navarre had decided that Paris was worth a Mass. At the age of ten he entered as one of its first pupils the new Jesuit college of Orleans founded with the favour of Marie de Médicis against the determined opposition of the Huguenots, who were strong in the town. The boy Jogues showed early that quality of gentle strength that was to mark the man. A steady student, courteous in manner and expert in swimming and running, he entered into the strong stream of his school's religious life with the same zest with which he plunged into his native Loire. From the Jogues' hearthstone he brought with him the fire of faith; the Huguenot menace and the zeal of his masters fanned that fire into flame. He would, he told these masters, be of their soldierly company if they would have him. They, for their part, had long sensed beneath Isaac's marked gentleness that coiled energy and nervous strength which the savage Hurons would later honour in the title Ondessonk—Bird of Prey. On 24 October, 1624, Isaac Jogues entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Rouen.

Thither one day in 1625 came the young Norman Jesuit, giant of body as of soul, Jean de Brébeuf, who was on his way to Dieppe to sail for New France. Brother Jogues envied him. For his eyes, fixed as they were on the missions of the East, had as yet no vision of the Huron wilderness and the Iroquois fires that were to bring death and glory to them both. It was in the great college of La Flèche, in large part the gift of Henry IV to the Jesuits and the destined resting place of his heart, that Isaac Jogues was to come fully under the spell of New France and to feel around him the surge and swell of that mystico-militant tide that was to sweep overseas to the Canadian wilderness some of the noblest souls of France. The air was full of a new daring and none savoured it more keenly than Jogues.

It was in 1534 that Jacques Cartier had discovered and named the St. Lawrence river and planted the cross and the fleur-de-lis on an island which he called Mont-Réal. He won a precious heritage for France—but not the Eldorado of which Francis I had dreamed. The "diamonds" he brought back were baubles, the "gold" was copper pyrites; and the phrase "As false as a Canadian diamond" was to remain for long the sole memory of Cartier's great achievement. Some seventy years were to pass before French eyes would turn again to the New World. Soon after the turn of the century Father Pierre Biard left his chair of theology at Lyons and Father Ennemond Massé his post as assistant to the famous Father Coton at the court and joined an expedition to Acadia—the modern Nova Scotia. Other Jesuits attached themselves to a settlement near the Penobscot river. But the English of Virginia, thinking the new adventurers too near for the comfort either of their trade or their religion, sacked the colonies in 1613 and shipped the colonists

back to France. The great Samuel Champlain it was who really founded New France. A man whose courageous vision was equalled by the fervour of his faith, he spent the early years of the century in pushing the exploration of Canada into the heart of the Huron and Iroquois country; and in 1615 he brought four Récollets from France who for ten years toiled valiantly for the conversion of the Indians. In 1625, hampered by want of men and lack of influence at the Court, the Récollets passed on the torch to the Jesuits Lalemant, de Brébeuf and Massé. It was this same Ennemond Massé who, in the years preceding Jogues' arrival at La Flèche, had been Minister of that great college. The good Father Minister did more than feed the bodies of his young Jesuit philosophers. He fired their imaginations and their souls with his own vast desires for the conversion of the Canadian savages. The Iroquois and the Algonquins were as familiar to these young men as Aquinas and Aristotle. It is indeed an irony that, for the hundred to whom the name La Flèche recalls the rationalism of a Descartes, scarce one will know the name of Massé, humanist, mystic and missioner.

The year 1636 brought ordination and the fulfilment of his many requests and prayers to Isaac Jogues. He and three of his classmates were chosen to join a band of eight that would sail for New France in the Spring with Chevalier de Montmagny, Champlain's successor. Once again, in preparation for the years ahead, Jogues trod for thirty days the hard and narrow path of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Through all his Jesuit years he had followed that path, seeing " Christ, Our Lord, the Eternal King and before Him the whole world, all of whom and each in particular He calls, and says: ' My will is to conquer the whole world and all enemies, and thus to enter into the glory of my Father. Whoever, therefore, desires to come with Me must labour with Me, in order that following Me in pain, he may likewise follow Me in glory.' " "At the root of Alexander's victories " wrote de Gaulle " one will always find Aristotle." At the root of St. Isaac Jogues' victories one will always find the Christ of Loyola's meditation on The Kingdom.

September 1636 saw Brébeuf and Jogues once more together in the land of the Hurons, near the shores of what is to-day Georgian Bay, some twenty-five days' hazardous canoe journey from Montreal—itself but a lonely outpost in the wilderness. Much of the missioners' life was spent either on the trail with the Indians or, in winter, in their hovels. These cabins, which sheltered ordinarily ten or twelve families, were merely sheets of bark thrown over two lines of poles, forming a tunnel-like structure, having no windows or chimneys but holes in the roof to let out the smoke. Life in these huts was a compound of smoke (breathing at times being possible only by putting one's face close to the frozen floor), violent alternations of heat and cold, stench, filth, dogs, vermin

and mosquitoes—" images of hell " was one priest's description of them. The food for a large part of the year was sagamite—crushed Indian corn boiled with a morsel of smoked fish. It tasted, Père Chaumonot comments, like paperhanger's paste. The Indians were savages—it is the term frequently and deliberately applied to them by the missioners. Ronsard in a romantic mood—and at a safe distance—had written of the American savage : " D'habits tout aussi nu qu'il est nu de malice." The Jesuits found the poet more trustworthy on the question of clothes than of morals. " The nature of the savages," wrote Père du Peron in 1639, " is patient, liberal, hospitable ; but it is importunate, visionary, childish, thievish, lying, deceitful, licentious, proud, lazy." " They eat men," said the Relation of 1642, " with as much appetite as hunters eat a boar or a stag." Over the missioners' heads hung the continuous threat of death, not from the Indians' cannabilistic tendencies, which generally developed only on the war path, but from their addiction to sorcery and devil-worship ; the Blackrobes were for them rival sorcerers from whom all their woes came. So sure were de Brébeuf and his companions that they were to be murdered in October 1637, that they gave a farewell feast for friend and enemy after the Huron custom. One can appreciate Lalemant's statement : " I have no doubt that there are many people who would chose rather to have their heads beaten in with a hatchet once and for all than to live for years the life that must be lived here daily." In such a life, and in such daily dying, Ondessonk the Blackrobe had a six years' schooling for his first meeting with his " spouse of blood " in 1642.

In that year the Iroquois (whose five confederate nations occupied roughly the modern state of New York) were again on the war-path. They were the terror of all the other Indians as of the French ; " they are not men, they are wolves " said an Algonquin squaw whose child they had roasted alive and eaten before her eyes. To Jogues now fell the doubly hazardous task of making the voyage to Quebec, to make contact with the Jesuits there and bring back supplies to the beleaguered missioners. The journey down was accomplished safely ; but on the way back they were ambushed by the Iroquois near the Richelieu River ; and Jogues, two *donnés* (laymen vowed to the mission work) Guillaume Coûture and the surgeon René Goupil, and several Hurons were taken prisoners. Cherry-Garrard has written of Scott's Antarctic journey as " The Worst Journey in the World". That title might well be reserved for the journey which Jogues and his companions were now to make to the Mohawk country. " You will search in vain in the *Acts of the Martyrs* " writes Georges Goyau " for a more terrible journey." Jogues could have escaped ; but he would not desert his flock. " Flight seemed horrible to me " he said in a Relation afterwards written for his Superiors. That manuscript is a grim diary of horrors.

" The Hiroquois fell upon me with a mad fury; they belaboured me with sticks and war-clubs, flinging me to the ground half dead. When I began to breathe again, they violently tore out my finger-nails; and then biting, one after another, the ends of my two fore-fingers destitute of their nails, caused me the sharpest pain—grinding and crushing them as if between two stones, even to the extent of causing splinters or little bones to protrude." While the victors were dividing their spoils, Jogues the priest claimed his own. With his crushed fingers he baptised some of the Hurons not yet baptised and washed their wounds; his greatest suffering was their suffering and the blow to the nascent church. " During the thirteen days that we spent on that journey, I suffered in the body torments almost unendurable and, in the soul, mortal anguish; hunger, the fiercely burning heat, the threats and hatred of these leopards, the pain of our wounds—which became putrid even to the extent of breeding worms—caused us, in truth, much distress. But all these things seemed light to me in comparison with an inward sadness. . . . The ways closed for a long time to the salvation of so many people made me die every hour in the depth of my soul."

Three times before the journey's end they were tortured by warrior bands; they had to run the gauntlet; they were slashed and mutilated and burnt. One of Fr. Jogues' thumbs was lacerated and bitten to the bone. The village of Ossernenon was a shrieking bedlam of fury when they reached it. Again the gauntlet: sticks, clubs, thorns, iron rods beat down upon the stumbling victims. " Such was our entrance into that Babylon. . . . Our bodies were all livid and our faces were stained with blood. But more disfigured than all was René Goupil, so that nothing white appeared in his face except his eyes." And all that was but a prelude to the maimings and burnings—spread over days—on a specially erected platform. The details of these torments are too revolting for description. Some measure of their horror may be gauged from the fact that, when they were over, only two finger-nails remained to Fr. Jogues; all his fingers were crushed, his left index finger was a stump, his left thumb was gone. " I accepted this torture, O my God, as a loving vengeance for the want of love and reverence that I have shown in touching Your Holy Body." Nor did the days die with sleep. Through the night the children tortured the victims bound spread-eagled in a cabin, throwing burning coals and hot ashes on their naked bodies. " In truth " Jogues murmured " these sufferings are great, but God is infinite in His goodness."

Finally some of the Hurons were burned at the stake; the three Frenchmen would be more valuable alive as hostages. But within six weeks René Goupil had fallen a martyr to a young brave's tomahawk for teaching a young child to make the sign of the Cross. Jogues was now alone, as Coûture had been taken to another village. Perhaps the most pathetic passage in all his sad story is his description of his search

at dawn, in the freezing waters of the Mohawk, for the body of his friend while he chanted the service of the dead. Alas! when he found it in Spring, it was only the poor bones stripped of their flesh and gnawed by the teeth of wolves and dogs. Jogues' life was now the life of a slave, a life of cold and hunger lived under blows and hourly threats of death—a life, in his own words, "harder to bear than any death". It did not cease to be the life of a priest. He dragged from village to village his maimed body "split open with the cold," comforting the Hurons, baptising secretly dying children and prisoners at the stake, mastering the Iroquois language and preaching boldly to his savage captors. And yet his dark night was to grow darker still; God was to "scan with darksome devouring eyes his bruised bones." All that he would say afterwards of that time of desolation and near-despair was "dies isti mali! Those terrible days."

Avenues of escape beckoned daily to his lower nature—if any such were left in him. It was only after a night of prayerful "election"—again the "Exercises" that had moulded him!—that he took an opportunity offered to him by the Dutch of Rensselaerswyck, a trading outpost in the Hudson. It was an escape as crammed with thrills and trials as any novelist could devise. The last episode of that escape was staged on the Breton coast on Christmas morning 1643 when a scarecrow of a man stumbled into a fisherman's cottage and asked where he might hear Mass. They thought him to be an Irish refugee, so broken was his French. The carols of his boyhood made music in his soul while he knelt and welcomed into his own broken body the Body broken for him and so long denied him. Soon it was Rennes and the tumultuous welcome of his Jesuit brethren; then Orleans, and his mother's joy and tears. And so to Paris, which was agog with the news of his heroism and adventurous escape. The Queen dropped tears on his mangled hands; he was the hero of the hour. Again he had to run the gauntlet—this time of praise and notoriety—and he hated it. He was homesick for his Iroquois.

"A man twice burnt is finished"—so airmen say. And so said Isaac's Superiors in their own kindly way. But no human yard-stick of endurance could measure the courage of a Jogues. The first ship that sailed for New France in the Spring had him on board as passenger. The Jesuits, gathered on the little wharf under Quebec's cliff, could scarcely credit their eyes when they saw from the shore this returned Lazarus. "These meetings in a country so far from our native land," said Le Jeune, "affect sometimes the eyes as well as the heart." The tears and solicitude of those comrades he loved were more endurable to Jogues than the adulations of Paris and its Court. But neither Quebec nor Montreal, where his Superiors stationed him, could take the place of his "spouse of blood". Again and again he begged to be sent back to the Iroquois—and shuddered even while he asked. "I feared that what I desired and what my spirit

would prize as the greatest of all desires might actually come to pass." A short stay with the people of his choice as a peace ambassador from Montmagny only whetted his desires. The Iroquois had promised to bury the hatchet; now surely, he pleaded with Père Lalemant, was the time ripe for another effort. At last the permission came. " Ibo et non redibo " he wrote to a friend in France. " I shall go, but I shall not return." He went, this time having the *donné* Jean de la Lande as his companion—and neither returned. For the Iroquois were again on the war-path, and all the old accusations of sorcery were renewed against the missionaries. Their end was mercifully swift. On the evening of Thursday, October 18th 1646 a tomahawk crashed down upon the skull of Isaac Jogues as he stooped to enter a cabin to which he had been invited to a feast. The same fate befell his companion next morning when he ventured out to search for the body of his master. Their heads were placed on the palisade looking to the north whence they had come, and their bodies were thrown into the Mohawk river. Thus died in the fortieth year of his age Isaac Jogues, man of Orleans, son of Loyola, Saint of God. He was a very perfect gentle knight.

It is good—for it is an act of *pietas*—to recall the memory of a man such as Jogues. It were far better to realise that his story is of to-day no less than of yesterday. In this, the year of his tercentenary, his story has been retold, re-acted in blood, re-acted by Reds, whose savagery, for being " civilized," is far more potent of evil than that of the Red Indians who tomahawked Jogues. At Scutari on March 5th of this year as darkness fell, two of St. Isaac Jogues's brethren, Fr. John Fausti, S.J., Vice-Provincial of the Albanian Mission and Fr. Daniel Dajani, S.J, Rector of the Pontifical Seminary, were led out to a rubbish-dump outside the city and shot dead. With them were Fr. Shllaku, a Franciscan, and two others. They were all denied the last comforts of their religion. Arrested on a trumped-up charge and " tried " in a court packed with a claque who howled for their execution, they were condemned to death. Their martyrdom was for the press-agencies just another Balkan " incident "; and, if one can assess their judgment by the few inches of print devoted to the trial, it was judged as such by our own newspapers. For Voltaire also in his day the tortures of Jogues and his companions was an " incident " —one about which it was hard to be quite sure even a hundred years after. " The Iroquois took a few Jesuits prisoners and—so we are told—ate them." The story of the martyrs down through the ages is indeed strangely similar. " If the Tiber rises " wrote Tertullian some seventeen centuries ago, " or if the Nile does not; if the heavens stand still or the earth moves; if there is famine or a pestilence, immediately the cry is raised: ' The Christians to the Lions ! ' " The Hurons and the Iroquois blamed the Blackrobes for bad hunting and bad health, for drought and

for deluge. And to-day the Catholic pays with his life for the supposed as well as for the real ills of the Communist state.

It would be a mockery then to praise the courage of Isaac Jogues and to fail to see that the judicial murder of his fellow-priests to-day is but a re-enactment of his passion, as his was of Christ's. To deny the possibility of such a failure is to say that the human mind is immune from the daily propaganda of a post-Christian press and radio. " There is a time to speak and a time to keep silence." The cowardly indifference to the horror of Englebert Dollfuss's murder in 1934 was a portent of the political collapse of Europe. Is its spiritual collapse prefigured by the like indifference to-day, among states and governments, to the judicial farce of Archbishop Stepinac's condemnation? That just and courageous man had no doubt about the significance of his trial. " You talk about freedom of religion " he charged his accusers, " and I tell you that a great number of priests have been killed here. You could have interned them ; you did not have to kill them. . . . Not only has the Church in Jugoslavia no freedom, but in a short while it will be annihilated."

Perhaps in the light of such a prophecy it would not be too fanciful to apply to our own day the vision of the Iroquois peril shown to St. John de Brébeuf in 1640. He saw in the sky a great Cross ominously approaching over the wintry forest from the East. "Is it large?" asked his companion Chaumonot. " Yes it is large " replied the saint ; " it is large enough to crucify us all."

DONAL O'SULLIVAN

THE BATTLE OF ARISTOTLE*

BY ARTHUR LITTLE, S.J.

(i) *Recovery of the Manuscripts*

ARISTOTLE is the only man who has ever suddenly changed the course of European civilisation more than a thousand years after his death. For it was not until his manuscripts were shaken from their hiding-places, in the unrest of the Moslem attacks and the reprisals of the Christians, that his thought was fully revealed and its influence exercised. Let us remember that before the Crusades the Aristotelean manuscripts were distributed in three deposits as follows :—

(1) Byzantium inherited the authentic canon of his works in a right line from Aristotle himself. Strabo states that Aristotle bequeathed these rough transcripts of his lectures, written from memory, to his son-in-law Theophrastus, who subsequently passed them to a kinsman, Neleus of Pergamon. Neleus kept them hidden in a cellar lest the government of Pergamon should confiscate them for the great library. For a hundred and fifty years they were stored there, until a needy descendant smuggled them out and sold them in Athens. Here they remained until the year 84 B.C. when Sulla besieged and took Athens and carried off the manuscripts to Rome. Andronicus Rhodius, one of the first great names in the history of scholarship, saw the Roman collection and its copy at Alexandria in 50 B.C. and separated the authentic works from the spurious and amended their text. (The collection at Alexandria could be regarded as a fourth deposit, but it is irrelevant since it was destroyed in 640 when the Saracens burned the great library). When the Roman Empire broke before the onsets of the northern tribes this Aristotelean canon was carried to Byzantium, where Greek was still the language and the reading of philosophy remained in esteem. Photius became a great Christian commentator on Aristotle. He also became the leader of a schism in the Church and severed the full canon of Aristotle, with Byzantium itself, from the knowledge of the West.

(2) Western Europe, however, had preserved a fragment of the canon from the wreck of the Empire. In its last days Boethius had translated into Latin the *Organon*, comprising Aristotle's treatises on Logic. And when the Greek schism had segregated the main canon and the loss of the Greek language had occasioned the neglect and loss of whatever Greek copies of Aristotle's works remained in the West, many there still studied and cherished the incomplete version of Boethius.

(3) Meanwhile the Arab philosophers possessed another deposit in which they included by mistake not only the genuine works of Aristotle

* This article is Chapter I of a book to be published during the year.

but also the two Plotinian treatises, the *Liber de Causis* and the mis-named *Theology of Aristotle*. Alexander the Great, pupil and admirer of Aristotle, had introduced him to the Syrians and had left copies of his works in the detritus of the Macedonian flood. Later the Christians, who read the Bible in Greek, were able to read these copies. And the Nestorians and Monophysites, constrained to defend their heresies philosophically, translated them into Syriac. Subsequently the Jews, hard pressed by a swarm of later religions, and the Moslems, who had degenerated in faith and morals after the fanatical impulse that grew from their first conquests, found in the Syriac translation a possible means of strengthening their religious beliefs. In 832 the Abbaside Caliph, Almamun, summoned the Nestorian Johannitius and other Syrian scholars to Bagdad. There, collating the Syriac with the Greek text, they translated the Syriac version into Arabic, roughly but not inaccurately, though they included the Neoplatonic treatises with no doubts of their authenticity. The Greek and Syriac originals were soon lost, but the Arabic version spread through the whole Moslem world, first to Persia in the hands of Avicenna, then to Spain where its greatest exponent was Averroes, the Cordovan Moor.

But even before the recovery of the full canon the preservation of the *Organon* in the West had important results. In the ninth century Raban Maur, a pupil of Alcuin, found in Porphyry an unanswered question that he addressed to the learned world. What, he asked, are the universals that we conceive in thought? What measure of real value have they? Aristotle's doctrine, variously understood, had hitherto been taught. For three centuries the controversy raged between realists and nominalists, until Abelard and (more decisively) John of Salisbury at last explained and vindicated for most of the disputants the moderate realism of Aristotle —at least in its general lines. That controversy had aroused a vast thirst for knowledge and an increased respect for Aristotle and a desire to know more of him. Students flocked to Paris from all parts of Europe to hear the famous teachers of the Cathedral School of Notre Dame. The new audacity of thought and consequent turbulence of behaviour constrained the Church and the State in partnership to organise and assume the government of the schools and studies; and the University of Paris was founded—to be followed by many others. From the beginning the Popes had determined to turn this new intellectual vitality into a source of power for the Faith.

About the same time (the middle of the twelfth century) the West began to discover the remainder of Aristotle's works. Evidence from twelfth century manuscripts shows that the first Greek texts were carried from Byzantium after the resumption of intercourse with the Eastern Empire that arose out of the First and Second Crusades. Good Greek texts of the *Physics*, the *Metaphysics*, and the *De Anima* thus reached Europe in the latter half of the twelfth century, though the *Ethics* did

not come until the thirteenth. It is of some importance to note the order in which translations were published. The first Latin version of all was by Aristippus, who before his death in 1168 latinised at least one book of the *Physics* from the Greek. Gerard of Cremona, who died in 1187, translated the whole of the *Physics* from the Arabic of the Spanish Moors. The first books of the *Metaphysics* were translated from the Greek before 1200; afterwards (probably not till after 1200) the whole *Metaphysics* was translated from the Arabic. The other books in the Greek text were not translated from the Greek until 1270. Hence Europe began its acquaintance with the main works of Aristotle besides the *Organon* in translations from the Byzantine Greek manuscripts before it increased that acquaintance in translations from the Arabic of the Moslems. But with the versions from the Arabic came ominously the Commentaries of Averroes.

When the rich trove came to be considered at Rome by the ecclesiastical authorities, and especially the Pope himself, it became clear that some of Aristotle's doctrines were heretical, but that his work as a whole was a treasure of learning, potentially invaluable for the prolegomena of Christian theology. Hence the teaching of Aristoteleanism was prohibited tentatively and provisionally at the University of Paris in 1210 and again in 1215. Yet that a tacit dispensation from the prohibition was granted in certain cases is shown by the fact that it was sometimes disregarded with impunity under the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities. Certainly it is not credible that the lectures on Aristotle of Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas were delivered in open or secret disobedience to the Church.

Was the ecclesiastical ban provoked by Aristotle's own doctrine or by Moslem interpretation or misinterpretation of that doctrine? Four reasons seem to show that it was provoked by Aristotle's own doctrine. First, as we have seen, the originals of the earliest translations were Greek and therefore good, because they were directly traditional in origin and kept in Christian custody; hence they would have served as a means of judging the accuracy of the versions from the Arabic and of Averroes's interpretation, and of correcting false impressions thence created if there were any. Secondly, the actual text of the ecclesiastical prohibition condemns Aristotle until he should be corrected, not his translators. Thirdly, since Averroes was as much suspected of heterodoxy by the Moslems as Siger de Brabant was by the Church it is unlikely that he distorted Aristotle to conform to the religion of Islam. On the contrary both Averroes and Siger, lest they *should* be tempted to Mahometanise or Christianise Aristotle, developed each his own doctrine of the two truths. For Averroes Aristotle's doctrine was the esoteric doctrine of the Koran in opposition to the vulgar doctrine of the Koran defended by the orthodox Moslem priests; for Siger Aristoteleanism was simply reason and con-

clusively demonstrable in opposition to faith—which, however, alone was true. It is hard to believe that either would have tampered with Aristotle's meaning. If therefore Averroes's or other Moslem glosses got tangled in the text, they must have been a help, not a hindrance, to understanding. Fourthly, evidence will be given in this book that Aristotle was unChristian in some essential and decisive doctrines and consistent with Averroes's interpretation.

But what eventually decided the policy of the Church towards Aristotle was the result of the dialectical duel between Thomas Aquinas and Siger de Brabant.

(ii) *The Fight for the Religious Orders*

The number of enemies with whom Thomas Aquinas had to contend during his struggle with Siger de Brabant made his position intensely perilous. To explain the enmity of these swarms of adversaries we must recall an earlier dispute of Thomas's, itself of much moment and interest. In it the religious orders, championed by Thomas and Bonaventure, opposed the secular masters of the University of Paris.

The causes of the quarrel were threefold. First was the jealousy of the secular masters for the religious. For over fifty years the teaching Faculty had been composed exclusively of secular priests, the natural heirs to the Cathedral School. In 1229 chairs were granted to Dominican and Franciscan masters. They at once began to empty the schools of the seculars by the enthusiasm and clarity of their lectures, while by their numerous writings they drew attention to the scantiness of their colleagues' written work, until the latter were goaded to emulation. Secondly, the austerity of the religious shamed the seculars, who were pleasure-loving, avaricious, and even in some cases immoral. These bad habits went unchecked by fear of popular criticism, for in a completely Catholic society critics of the clergy were few. Thirdly, the seculars found it necessary to find a scapegoat for their failure to control the students. The university, remember, was a Papal foundation and therefore had a large measure of freedom from local episcopal supervision in the teaching and the discipline of the students, notwithstanding that the Chancellor, all the disciplinary officers, and most of the masters were seculars. Now the extraordinary vital energy of the mediaeval students was released partly in tumultuousness and immorality, partly in avidity for learning. Naturally students so ardent reverenced and imitated their professors; and when they found them given to dissipation, they took heart to yield to their own temptations. The seculars refused responsibility for the conduct of the students by blaming, not their own professorial exemption from episcopal supervision, but the exemption of the religious. It was not easy, however, to maintain that the religious directly encouraged

immorality. So their enemies chiefly endeavoured to show that they promoted it indirectly by teaching unsound doctrine.

The storm broke in 1252 when William of Saint Amour, canon and secular master, published an abusive book and a series of pamphlets against the religious, in which he particularly insisted that exempt religious were a danger to control of doctrine by the authorities. About that time Thomas Aquinas and his Franciscan friend, Bonaventure, were young bachelors of arts teaching in the university under their respective masters, Albert the Great and Alexander of Hales. Bonaventure at once began to prepare an answer to the fierce canon and in 1255 produced his *De paupertate Christi*. But, more precipitate and less tough than his friend, though no less gallant, Bonaventure was overwhelmed by the violence of William and the partisanship of the students, who favoured the seculars for defending their licentiousness or conniving at it. He was forced to resign his chair and to retire from the university. He was re-instated, however, by the Pope in the following year, and he and Thomas were made masters together. Their new prestige did not save them from further persecution and there is reason to believe that Thomas lectured under police protection, or at least under a guard of Louis IX's soldiers. Nothing daunted, however, Thomas now produced his own pamphlet *Contra impugnantes religionem*. It had a result very different from that of Bonaventure's. Albert the Great journeyed to Rome with William's book and Thomas's answer. The Pope, sponsor and protector of the religious orders, condemned William's book and deprived the author of his chair. But William, exiled from Paris, yet relentlessly contrived for his remaining thirteen years of life to keep the strife alive and to conduct its strategy from afar. Meanwhile Thomas was recalled to Italy to lecture on Aristotle at the Papal curia.

In the midst of these sallies there appear the first signs of the activity of another master, who was to find this quarrel valuable as a distraction to his adversaries of the regular clergy in his championship of Averroism. In 1256 Albert the Great published his treatise *De unitate intellectus* against the Averroists. It is not a grim polemic like Thomas's work of the same name, but a kindly admonition such as would only be addressed to a young professor who had begun to teach rash doctrine. It reviewed the characteristic doctrines of Averroism: that the world had never begun but had existed from eternity, that there was numerically only one mind by which all men did their thinking, that Aristotle said so and Aristotle was always right. These doctrines, at first sight fantastic rather than dangerous, led by inevitable logic, as Albert showed, to gravely irreligious conclusions. All the evidence indicates that this work was aimed at Siger de Brabant, who must therefore have begun his Averroistic mission in the university before this date.

For Siger's early life we have but little evidence. It seems that he was

born in Brabant about 1235. He neither was, nor intended to be, either priest or religious, though he must have been a cleric in minor orders to keep the benefice, a canonry of Liége, by which he at first supported himself. He was, we know, a master in philosophy; but, since only priests could proceed to theology, he probably intended to finish his studies in law or medicine.

Unlike Thomas Aquinas, whose sole aim was truth, Siger desired most of all to find the world interesting. Hence, though he held that the Faith was the only truth, he gave his attention by choice to reason or (the same thing in his eyes) Aristotle's philosophy—which, he maintained, could often prove conclusively the contradictory of faith. M. Gilson considers that his faith was sincere and, if religious sincerity is indeed consistent with the doctrine of the incompatibility of faith and reason, one is inclined to agree. Certainly it is hard to credit him with the sincere belief that his own ideas came from the same mind as Thomas's. Naturally Siger sought his neophytes among the students, who, less instructed than the masters, would more readily assent to strange doctrines. Needless to say they also mistook the rebel against obligation in Siger for an heroic defender of liberty. And they had one good reason for following him in the attraction they felt for the firmer concepts of Siger's prophet, Aristotle, over the flimsy set of notions to which Platonism had then degenerated. Siger himself also dazzled them. He was energetic, audacious, impetuous, though often repentent of his own precipitancy. He was consistently chivalrous and spoke at all times with unstinted praise of the genius of Albert and Thomas. Though he taught immorality, he was yet apparently free from its practice. Immature, more dangerous than he intended, he might almost himself be called the Eternal Undergraduate. If we add, on the evidence of the questions determined by him and still extant, that he was a brilliant expositor of Averroes, unoriginal perhaps (indeed both were slaves of Aristotle) but ostentatiously expert in the use of the logical technique of the Scholastics, we shall fully understand his distinguished success as a university demagogue.

Siger first enters history in 1266, characteristically at the head of a riot. The French, one of the four "nations" into which the students were divided and numerically larger than all the others put together, had induced a master claimed by the Picards to join them. The Picards were not merely loud in protest; they armed themselves with formidable weapons and attacked the French, until the latter went into schism from the rest of the arts students and erected a separate faculty. Siger, perhaps to curry favour with the undergraduates, took the leadership of the Picards. They kidnapped a French canon, William of Tulle, and held him as a hostage. They tried to steal the office books from the chapel of the Dominicans to prevent the latter from reading a requiem over William of Auvergne, the late master of the French and Bishop of Paris. (Never-

theless he had poured bitter scorn on the abuses in the lives of the secular masters). Siger may have used this latter occasion to vent his spite on the Dominicans because of Albert's attack in 1256. The whole episode, in any case, has a familiar university flavour about it. Later these parties were reconciled, and in the subsequent conflict over Averroism the parties were not divided in the same way as in this one. But it is time to describe the decisive episode of Siger's fate.

(iii) *The Defeat and Death of Siger de Brabant*

About the time of the dispute between the " nations " the teaching of Siger had wrought havoc in the religious and moral state of the city and university of Paris. Nightly there were held torchlight processions and other demonstrations of organised rowdyism in the streets of the Garlande, the students' quarter. The clerics were losing all sense of the dignity and spiritual character of their vocation. They spent much time in playing dice on the altars of the churches and often wore beards and helmets to conceal a profession of which they were ashamed. There was even some immorality of a peculiarly despicable kind. Roger Bacon asserts that there was much. But, though he was no liar, his account here is probably prejudiced and exaggerated. He was a necromancer and magician ; and, when the Averroists were presently condemned for practising magic amongst other things, he protested against the inclusion of so excellent an art amongst sins and was clapped into gaol. Mild as his persecution was it stimulated his mediaeval genius for malediction. Nevertheless it is improbable that his accusations of vice were wholly without foundation. But what most alarmed the authorities was the evidence of a popular movement towards Averroism outside the university. A story was circulating at this time of a soldier who refused to abandon his evil life on the ground that he had the same soul as St. Peter ; since St Peter's soul was already saved, it was superfluous to take any measures to save his own. Evidently the need for open combat with the Averroists was urgent.

Back therefore to this bewildered city Thomas was sent in 1268. Whatever the ostensible motives of his superiors, it is hardly doubtful that their real motive was to confront Siger with an adversary. If Averroism spread, the authorities would have no choice but to close the university and to tighten the ban on Aristotle. But both the Pope and most of the Dominicans were reluctant to close so admirable a channel of learning and instructed faith or to prohibit strictly so useful a philosopher. So they chose their emissary well. Not only was Thomas likely by his genius to crush Siger and save the university, but his matchless critical discernment of all that was sound in Aristotle seemed to ensure that he would permit no useful part of his doctrine to be condemned. Thomas, however, also accepted two doctrines, the unity of the substantial form and the principle of individuation, that had been briefly indicated by Aristotle but

diffusely defended by Averroes. That Thomas found any good in Averroes is to us a proof of his fairness of judgment ; but to his enemies this was a weakness by which they hoped to whelm him with Siger in the same fate.

The campaign that followed was distinguished by the masterly strategy of Thomas and later of Siger. Ringed around with foes and unable without delay to summon aid from his mighty allies at Rome, Thomas was as much alone against numbers as Frederick the Great during the Seven Years War. And, like him, Thomas knew that he must divide his enemies if he was to conquer. First it was necessary to defeat the anti-Aristoteleans and thus to prove that faith was not hostile to reason exemplified in Aristotle, especially to Thomas's own Averroistic theses, and then to attack Siger, who claimed that the hostility was irreconcilable. Though he never attacked his friend, Thomas must have recognised that Bonaventure's opposition to Aristotle was one of his worst menaces. Bonaventure held that faith was the only criterion of truth, that reason could establish nothing conclusively. This approximation to fideism would, if victorious, give the victory to Siger ; for Siger could show that reason *could* conclude firmly and so logically force Bonaventure to adopt Siger's own doctrine of the equation of faith with truth and of reason with certainty. If Thomas failed to establish the full defensibility of *his* doctrine of the truth and certainty of both faith and reason, on the ground of their necessary agreement, then, whether the victory went to Siger or to the Platonists, his own philosophy would be discredited.

In 1269, therefore, Thomas declared war by advertising his intention of defending in a quodlibetal disputation before Easter. A " quodlibet " was a disputation on any question proposed by anyone in the audience, without notice to the defender, for immediate discussion in public debate. The solution or determination of the question was, however, postponed till the following day, when the defender was expected to summarise the whole discussion and advance his solution in strict scholastic form.

This declaration threw the university into a ferment. But Thomas's adversaries were already too divided amongst themselves (mainly by the dispute over the religious orders) to organise their opposition. The secular masters were certainly the most determined of all to convict Thomas of error. But his old allies, the Franciscans, were also in the opposition. With the possible exception of their leader, John Peckham, they were in no degree moved by enmity towards their twin order, the Dominicans. They rallied to the defence of the Augustinian exemplarism that, as is evident from St. Francis's own *Canticle of the Sun*, was native to the Franciscan spirit. Moreover those troublesome schismatics, the Spirituals, were denying the right of Franciscans to learning. The loyal Franciscans feared therefore to show any sympathy for the new Aristoteleanism, lest it should give grounds to the Spirituals for charging them

with heterodox doctrine and agitating for the confiscation of their books. A third party in the opposition comprised a few Dominican reactionaries. Robert Kilwardby, the Dominican archbishop of Canterbury (in which see he was succeeded by John Peckham), already enjoyed a reputation as an authority on Augustinian Platonism. His motives for attacking his younger colleague can easily be conjectured.

Of what actually happened in the *Quodlibet* we directly and certainly know only what is contained in Thomas's extant determinations. These state the questions put (one was on the unity of the substantial form) with a terse summary of the arguments and final solutions. We must gather from the recognised gravity of the issues at stake and from the style of William of St. Amour's works the venom with which his enemies attacked him, their efforts to trap him into damaging admissions, perhaps their heckling and occasional lapses into personal abuse. What is certain is that Thomas separated the arguments from the rhetoric and replied only to the arguments and without heat. And so for day after day during that Lent he kept his many adversaries in play solely by the cool swordsmanship of his dialectics, unimpassioned by pity or fear or hatred. One likes most of all to think of him at those moments, fighting one of the decisive battles of the world, on which depended far more for the health of Europe than ever depended on Waterloo. In the Easter of the following year 1270 the attacks were renewed at another *Quodlibet* and again repelled, and this time the Platonists were so effectively overwhelmed, at least temporarily, that Thomas's hands were left free to turn on Siger.

Thomas had thus proved that an Aristotelean, who accepted Aristotle with due critical reserve, need not be a heretic. He could now expose the errors of the fanatical Averroistic Aristoteleans without giving grounds for any excessive suspicions of Aristotle's orthodoxy. Siger had foreseen his danger and had already published his book *De anima intellectiva* in defence of his position. In an astonishingly short time Thomas produced his answer, *De unitate intellectus*, in which he shattered Siger's arguments, sometimes with a rhetorical passion almost unexampled in his works, but never with the least sign of contempt for his adversary. Promptly Stephen Tempier, Archbishop of Paris and ex-Chancellor of the university, condemned some propositions of Siger's. He had been persuaded to include in his condemnation Thomas's Averroistic theses as well. But Albert the Great got wind of the intention. Old and ailing as he was and living in Germany, he at once set out on the arduous journey to Paris to defend the orthodoxy of theses with which he did not agree, eager only to clear the name of a beloved pupil. Never so great as at that moment, yet he seems to have persuaded Tempier to omit the Thomistic theses only on threat of appealing to the Pope on behalf of the Pope's favourite master.

Siger, however, with consummate craft eluded disaster on that occasion. By deliberately fomenting a new strife he distracted the minds of the

authorities from seeking the inquisitorial action that would have followed on his condemnation. Alberic of Rheims had been elected Rector of the university. Many were dissatisfied with his election because of his misdeeds and incompetence. Siger prevailed on a large party of these to protest actively and placed himself at their head. Although Alberic was sustained in office by a university tribunal, he was forced by public opinion to retire in 1272 after a year of office. The minority led by Siger at once elected him their rector, constituting two mutually hostile faculties of arts in the university. Stephen Tempier then intervened to quell the troubles that were ruining the good name of the city. He could have urged in excuse that he was responsible for the faith and morals of his diocese and naturally desired to control them himself. But his intervention was an infringement of the rights granted to the university by the Pope's charter, and the masters resented too strongly the menace to their privileges to listen to excuses. To the distress of the Pope and the French King they dissolved the university by ceasing to lecture. In any case the chaos arising from the many and various feuds must have brought all university activity to a standstill. In the midst of these alarms and excursions Thomas returned quietly to Italy, having broken Averroism and (an even more momentous achievement) having saved from ruin the prestige of his Aristotelean philosophy. But he never knew the extent of his victory, for two years later in 1274 he was dead.

The rest is irrelevant. But the temptation to follow the rash, disobedient, but somehow likeable Siger to his final tragedy is irresistible.

In 1275 the Papal legate, Cardinal Simon de Brion, afterwards Pope Martin IV, was sent to arbitrate in the dispute. He drew up a scheme of reform and summarily settled the dissensions by making himself Rector of the university. But as soon as the masters resumed their lectures the inevitable fruit of Siger's teaching again began to appear. Irreligion spread, though it was not his principle, and immorality grew, though it was not his practice. Thereupon Pope John XXI ordered Tempier to investigate Averroism and report on it. Tempier, however, exceeded his mandate and went on to determine and condemn publicly the Averroistic errors. Moreover, as former secular Chancellor of the university and perhaps under new instigation from the secular masters, he seized the chance to include at last the Averroistic theses of St. Thomas in the condemnation. Albert the Great and the Dominicans rallied to the defence of Thomas, and presently the Pope, who approved of these theses being taught at the Papal curia, implicitly rebuked Tempier by ordering him to drop the whole matter. Actually this condemnation, though implicitly repudiated by Rome, was with belated sense of humour only withdrawn officially by the diocese of Paris in 1324 on the occasion of St. Thomas's canonisation.

Meanwhile Siger and the other Averroistic master, Boethius of Dacia,[1] were sentenced to exile by the French King and were in imminent peril of arrest by the Inquisition. It seems that Siger sought and obtained sanctuary with the Dominicans, as there is extant a demand for extradition of Siger served by the Inquisitor of France (himself a Dominican) on a Dominican prior, and such hospitality to a beaten foe would be consistent with the magnanimity displayed by the Dominicans throughout this episode. As there is no evidence whatever that Siger underwent any judicial trial in France, it is probable that the prior connived at Siger's escape to Italy—and not without justification if we presume that Siger had promised to appeal in person to the Pope.

We know with certainty, however, that in 1278 Siger was tried at Rome by the inquisitors, who were all Franciscans. They found him indirectly heretical; for, though he confessed that all the articles in the Faith were true, he still insisted that reason could prove the contradictory of some of them. They sentenced him to the same mild punishment as Fitzralph and Galileo subsequently underwent. He was condemned to life-long detention in the curia. But, though his movements were restricted, he continued his studies in comfort, received visits from his friends, and under observation could wander in the grounds attached to the curial buildings.

The end came without warning in 1281. Siger had the services of the usual clerk (the word then meant literally cleric, or one at least in minor orders) allowed to masters in the university. He himself was not allowed weapons, but his clerk is inferred by Mandonnet to have carried the dagger that was customary then even with some priests. One day the clerk, in a fit either of fury or of actual madness (the Latin phrase is ambiguous), stabbed Siger. In a few hours he died and for the first time met a judge whom he did not perplex.

(iv) *Conclusions*

The immediate results of these struggles were unfortunate for Thomism. It became known as a system partially borrowed from a deservedly condemned heresy, while many overlooked the fact that what was heretical in the heresy had not been borrowed. Secondly, many had become interested in soiling its reputation and so had turned hostile to it for non-philosophical reasons. People in later centuries remembered with suspicion the reputation that had thus got stained, but seldom how it got

[1] Not much is known of Boethius. He was a master and cleric in minor orders, less able but even more heterodox than Siger. He was not tried at Rome and nothing indicated that he was tried elsewhere. On the evidence of an entry in a list of Dominican writers he is said to have joined the Dominicans to avoid judicial prosecution. John of Peckham says that he died miserably in Italy. Mandonnet holds that there is no inconsistency between these two statements. I must not comment on the opinion of so well-informed an authority.

stained or with what injustice. The memory of this stigma and forgetfulness of its injustice, added to the sheer difficulty of understanding the metaphysical depths of Thomism, were the beginning of a series of misfortunes that have delayed the recognition of its value, until even to-day that recognition is short of its due.

But the sole purpose of this chapter to this book was to answer a question : If Thomas did publish an interpretation of Aristotle that was prejudiced in favour of Aristotle, why did he do so ? The answer should now be plain. If Thomas had admitted Averroes's consistent fidelity to Aristotle, the latter would have been as decisively banned as Averroes and even his valuable truths would have been forbidden to teachers. Where Thomas did admit the fidelity of Averroes to the more original doctrines of Aristotle, especially the unity of the substantial form and the principle of individuation, he had to fight a hard and, for a time, a losing battle against their condemnation *because* they were Averroes's. It was thus essential for Thomas to persuade people that the authentic interpretation of Aristotle was less irreligious than that of Averroes. Yet Plato was already so much in favour that Thomas could not admit that Aristotle's alleged variation from Averroes for the better was in the direction of Plato. Else Plato would have retained his autocracy and a mature Christian philosophy, which required to include much of Aristotle's doctrine, would have become almost impossible. To supplant Plato with Aristotle as the true precursor of Christian philosophy it was necessary to show not only that Aristotle was right but that he was right in differing from Plato. Aristotle's distinction both from Plato and Averroes needed to be stressed, if Aristotle was to survive.

ARTHUR LITTLE

ITALY'S DARK HOUR

BY FRANCIS JOY, S.J.

IT is impossible to credit the United Nations—democracies themselves for the most part—with the intention of stifling the renascent Italian democracy at birth. And yet for one who studies carefully the well-documented analysis of the Treaty by that life-long lover of Italy, Miss Barclay Carter[1] the suggestion of allied bad faith can only be dismissed by postulating a blindness to the issues involved that is all but incredible. As Don Sturzo writes in his preface to Miss Carter's book, " Russia may hope to win Italy to her zone of influence (since world politics are still presented in such terms) through a weakening rather than a strengthening of the New Mediterranean Republic. But that this should be in the interest of Britain (or even of America) is unthinkable to any man of sense." Don Sturzo's is if anything an understatement. For Italy, militarily impotent and financially exhausted, can scarcely survive at all except through liberal help from those very democracies which, in the terms of the Treaty and in the manner of its imposition, give little or no evidence of comprehending the country's extreme need or its good-will towards them.

It was only on August 12th 1946, nearly three years after the signing of the armistice, that the Italian delegates were invited to hear the terms of the Treaty. And the manner of their reception left no doubt as to the attitude of the Paris Conference towards their erstwhile ' co-belligerent '. The very text of the Treaty was withheld from the delegates until the day after the Conference met. Only one speech each was allowed to them, and this was limited to half an hour. They were led out of the Conference, like condemned criminals, immediately after they had spoken, and were allowed to have no part in the discussions. Even the written Memoranda which they were permitted to submit were—so the Conference agreed—to be disregarded unless some victor power stood sponsor for any proposed amendment. If it had been Mussolini, and not De Gasperi and Bonomi, whom the Big Four awaited, it would have needed but a little scene-shifting to set the stage appropriately !

The Treaty which was dictated last August was, with some minor modifications, signed on February 10th of this year in an atmosphere of extreme tension. The Italians, while sending a signatory, refused to commit their interim Constituent Assembly on the question of ratifying the Diktat. A ten-minute general strike throughout the peninsula was staged as a popular protest against the harshness of its terms. Meanwhile, to emphasise his displeasure at not having Trieste allotted to him, Tito

[1] *Italy Speaks.* By Barbara Barclay Carter. London : Gollancz. 1947. 6s.

—with the approval of Stalin—refused to sign the Treaty. More poignant than either of these protests was the unconscious commentary made by those thousands of Italians who, carrying what belongings they could, began the long trek from Istria back over the newly-created Italo-Yugoslav frontier: first indications went to show that the vast majority of the 446,000 Italians cut off by the Treaty would prefer to forego the blessings of Tito's rule or the precarious uncertainties of life in "Free Trieste," even though they knew that they were returning in the middle of winter to an Italy with 2,500,000 already rendered homeless by the war, with another half-million foreign refugees to cater for, not to speak of the 1,000,000 Italian soldiers and civilians returning from German concentration camps and those 1,426,000 prisoners of war returned or returning from allied countries.

By the Treaty, Italy is to be demilitarized. She must destroy all permanent fortifications on the French and Yugoslav frontiers, as well as on the islands of Pantelleria, Lampedusa, Lampione, Linosa, and Pinosa. Only such war-material is allowed her as is strictly needed for the miniature forces permitted to her: 185,000 soldiers and 65,000 carabinieri, 250 fighter planes, a navy of 2 battleships, 4 cruisers, 4 fleet-destroyers, 16 torpedo-boats and 20 corvettes. Here perhaps better than anywhere else we can realise that the overthrow of fascism could not have been effected without terrific repercussions on the national economy. For the militaristic *mise-en-scène* of Mussolini's Italy, now finally obliterated, represented a substantial part of the national budget over nearly twenty years: its destruction may be as little regretted as its creation was deplored, but the fact remains that Italy pays—and pays dearly—for Mussolini's folly.

To France the Treaty gives the Little St. Bernard Pass, the Mont Cenis plateau, the Mont Thabor and Chaberton areas, with the Upper Tinée, Vesubie and Roya valleys. Since Italy is being demilitarized in any case, the strategic aspect of these concessions is of minor importance. But the ceded territory contains three important hydro-electric plants on which the trains and industries of a large part of Piedmont and Liguria depend. The Treaty provides for a bilateral agreement by which Italy is allowed to rent this electric power from France!

Italy's territorial losses to Yugoslavia are much more serious. Last year three commissions—American, British and French—were sent out to investigate and report on a possible Italo-Yugoslav frontier. The line least favourable to Italy, proposed by the French commission and hence known as the French line (and which incidentally follows no ethnic division) has been incorporated in the Treaty. By this division she loses an important part of the Istrian coast-line, including the naval base of Pola. Within the ceded territory is created the internationally-guaranteed Free Territory of Trieste. By this clause of the Treaty, Italy gives up

the dock-yards of Trieste and Fiume, which contained 54% of her ship-building industry. She loses 18 hydro-electric power-stations (in addition to the three lost to France). She foregoes moreover 30% of her scanty coal-production, 73% of her bauxite, and a large part of her steel, cement and mercury industries. It may be well to recall that between 1923 and 1938 she had sunk some £100 million of capital in industry and shipping and some £10 million in public works within that Eastern Istria which now, by a stroke of the pen, passes under aegis of Tito and behind the Iron Curtain.

Outside the peninsula, Italy cedes the Dodecanese Islands to Greece, renounces all rights to Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland (their ultimate fate is to be decided later), and signs away all rights, titles and claims deriving from the mandate system.

Italy renounces " all claims of any description " arising out of the war, including compensation for non-combat damage. She must redeem the so-called Am-lire, with which the allies paid their colossal armies over three years. America and Canada have generously undertaken to credit Italy with their share of this burden, but their example has not been followed by the other nations, and the liability still remains huge. Besides this money issue, the occupying armies exacted labour services and requisitioned houses, factories, transport and other facilities estimated at a sum at least equivalent to that paid to the allied personnel. Miss Carter quotes sound authority for the estimate of " occupation expenses " at over £1,400,000,000. That such a figure is not fantastic may be appreciated if we bear in mind that even at the end of 1945 some 51,000 houses, 2,000 public buildings, 1,600 hotels and 1,900 factories were still requisitioned by the army of occupation ; we may recall, too, that 30% of Italy's forests had been cut down (large quantities of the timber being exported) in the course of the long armistice.

While the Italian Government, with the best of reasons for being generous, finds itself financially unable to contribute more than 25% of the reconstruction costs for its own nationals who must rebuild homes shattered for the most part by allied action, it is compelled by the Treaty to contribute 75% of the costs of reconstruction of property belonging to United Nations subjects in Italy similarly destroyed.

In direct reparations, Italy is compelled to pay £25,000,000 each to Russia, Yugoslavia and Greece and £5,000,000 to Abyssinia. The further claims of the three last countries (Yugoslavia, £2,462,000,000 ; Greece, £1,223,500,000 ; Abyssinia, £184,746,000) are to be satisfied under the terms of article 69 of the Treaty. This article (which contains a principle at variance with the Hague Convention) runs thus : " Each of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to seize, liquidate and take any other action with respect to all property, rights and interests within its territory which on the date of coming into force of the present

Treaty belong to Italy or to Italian nationals, and to apply such property or the proceeds thereof to such purposes as it may desire, within the limits of its claims and those of its nationals against Italy or its nationals . . ."

There are several other clauses in the Treaty which involve greater or less economic hardship on Italy; they deal with the payment of prisoners of war, the disposal of war-material, the restitution of allied and German material, the refitting of the naval units destined to be handed over to the United Nations, the renunciation of claims arising out of the decisions of prize-courts given at the time when Italy was not yet in the war. It is not my purpose to give an exhaustive account of the Treaty, but rather to indicate some of the obstacles which it puts to the resurgence of a new Italy.

Those obstacles would be formidable enough, even for a country that faced them in her full economic vigour. What then of a country which entered the war already in a parlous condition, weakened by long years of extortion and financial corruption in high places? In the war itself, Italy lost some 250,000 dead and had some 130,000 wounded, all with dependents who are and will be a charge on her exchequer. In their Memorandum to the Peace Conference, the Italian delegates presented a closely audited account of the material damage done to their country by the war: even at the present inflated exchange the figure represents a total of between 3 and 4 thousand million sterling.

At the moment, inflation is one of her biggest obstacles to recovery. Between 1938 and 1945 the note-issue rose from 22 to 300 or, if we are to include the Am-lire, to 400 thousand million lire[1]. In terms of human suffering, this means that few in Italy to-day are earning enough to maintain their social position—or even enough to survive. The ordinary worker simply cannot support his family, and there are no funds for public subsidies to relieve the situation. An Italian economist has shown that, even in favourable conditions—his report was published before the terms of the Treaty were known—it would take Italy ten years of intensive application to bring her people back to the admittedly low standard of living of the years immediately preceding the war. An UNRRA report of last August estimates that for 1947 Italy must have help from outside to the extent of £70,000,000 if she is to be saved from the "spectre of famine".

From 1933 to 1938, Italy's trade balance showed an average annual deficit of more than £21 million, towards the covering of which a large share was contributed by remittances from emigrants and by freight charges of her passenger and merchant fleet: of the 883 merchant ships

[1] The lira, which before the war was controlled at roughly 100 to the £, is now quoted on the black market at 1,800. And the dollar exchange is even more fantastic; an American soldier could buy 20 cigarettes at his Post Exchange for 5 lire, and sell them in the black market for 400 lire!

at her disposal before the war she has now only 123, and we have already seen that the property of her nationals in foreign lands, hitherto " frozen," is now subject to confiscation.

* * *

It is clear that only consummate statesmanship and internal peace in the years to come can save Italy from the perils which surround her; but the political background against which we view her present state is far from reassuring. We must remember that a whole class of upright and capable men, with experience of public affairs, are precluded from participation in government by the fact that they have collaborated, even materially, with the fascist régime. The *fuorusciti* (political exiles) are back, and they tend to turn the clock back to 1921.

When the allies landed in Italy, the anti-fascist groups fused into the Committee of National Liberation, a kind of interim National Government composed of the most heterogeneous parts. Besides the Christian Democrats (heirs to the pre-fascist *Populari*), there were the Socialists under Nenni, the Communists under Togliatti, the Labour Democrats under Bonomi, the Liberals and the Action Party. Of these parties the Christian Democrats on the one hand and the allied forces of Communists and Socialists on the other have since emerged as the rivals for the primacy of Italian political life. But in the difficult years that have passed it became ever clearer that the parties of the left, and especially the Communists, were following the same political line in Italy as elsewhere; reaping all the advantages that participation in a loose coalition gave them, while shirking the responsibilities. By deft manoeuvring they left De Gasperi, the Christian Democrat leader, to incur all the odium of dealing with the victorious and often officious occupation authorities. He has now to face the further unpopularity which can hardly fail to result from his treatment at the Peace Conference.

The Communist Party was ready for action on the day of liberation, with flags and literature to hand and funds to burn. Togliatti is the nominal leader, but the real chiefs are in the background. Grieco, one-time organiser of the Comintern for Western Europe, is the directing brain. Longo, organiser of the International Brigade in Spain and, in that capacity, responsible for the " liquidation " of some 3,000 priests and religious and some 4,000 " Trotskyites " during that dismal period, succeeded in getting into Northern Italy during the period of the allied advance and joined Parri in organising the partisans. We may be sure that it was through his influence that, in its later stages, the partisan movement took on a definitely Communist colour, and that the arms sent by the allied powers to the guerrillas behind the lines were never surrendered and have since been carefully oiled and stored in Communist, dumps. The third Communist leader behind the scenes is Di Vittorio, a genius at Labour organisation. By his efforts the *Camera del Lavoro,*

or local Labour exchange, is under Communist control in all the small towns in Italy, forming a centre of organisation strangely reminiscent of the old local *Fascio*. In a country with a large surplus population now deprived of colonies, with foreign trade precluded by the armistice for the past three years, with industry largely paralysed, and with an unemployment figure of between two and three million[1], the propaganda value of such a net-work of labour exchanges in the control of an unscrupulous party can scarcely be exaggerated.

Strict discipline, clear aims, elaborate organization and ample funds for all emergencies have secured for the Communists an immense initial advantage over the other parties: the fact that the Treaty now leaves Italy weak and unarmed at the very threshold of Tito's Yugoslavia should give the Communists their opportunity for further action.

In 1944 an American journalist, with the enterprise of his race and calling, penetrated into the partisan-Communist circles of northern Italy and wrote an article for the American *Mercury* on his findings. His thesis was that even then the Communists were ready to launch a revolution in Italy at the moment they judged opportune. That his conclusion was not hastily dismissed by Italians is proved by the fact that his article was translated for the *Rassegna della Stampa*, a Roman weekly which gives its readers the best from the foreign press, and that it was reproduced without comment. Again last December the question was to the fore. *Unità*, the Communist organ, published a secret police document in which were described in some detail the workings of a secret Communist organisation, the Troika, with 100 cells in Milan, 100 in Turin, 50 in Ancona, 50 in Bologna, and 50 being organised in Naples. The purpose of the Communist organ was to disclaim the report and to accuse the head of the police of anti-Russian bias. But thinking men were far from reassured, since the suspicion of an underground Communist organisation of a militant kind is rapidly growing into something like a conviction. " There are some," said De Gasperi about this time, " who use this coalition as the chrysalis wherein to nurse the growing revolutionary movement until, having become a butterfly, it will spread its wings and fly in broad daylight."

More than the average share of responsibility for this disquieting state of things belongs to the Socialist Party and to its leader, Pietro Nenni. Starting his political career in the fascist camp, and even reaching the office of party *federale*, Nenni, on breaking with Mussolini, decided to reverse the somersault by which the Duce came to power. Nenni the Socialist had all the zeal of the convert. He joined Longo in organising the Italian battalions of the International Brigade for Spain. It was he, too, who pledged Italian Socialism to collaboration with the Communists, a collaboration which the history of pre-war United Fronts should have

[1] The figure would be much larger but for an agreement between the employers and the trade unions by which workers shall not be dismissed during the present crisis.

made any Socialist regard with suspicion and which, in fact, daily experience in Italy is causing the more far-seeing Socialists to regret. For Italian Socialism in older days was a conservative movement, closer perhaps to the English Labour Party than its counterpart in any of the Continental countries : it is not to be wondered at, then, if these men feel ill-at-ease in their rôle of catspaw for the Communists.

The whole machinery of the anti-fascist Committee of National Liberation has been used unscrupulously by the Communists for their own ends. Some months ago, after many efforts to elect a new mayor for Rome had proved ineffective, a decision was finally reached and the Christian Democrat candidate was duly elected. Immediately a rabble led by the Communists and purporting to voice the feelings of the four parties that now form the *Blocco del Popolo* (Socialists, Communists, Action Party and Republicans) invaded the Capitol, and the Capitoline Bell announcing the election of the new mayor had scarcely ceased to toll when the new mayor was forced to resign. One sees the same strategy in the wave—violent and unexpected—of anticlericalism which swept through Italy on the eve of the elections last autumn. At the time of the liberation of Rome the three veteran trade-union leaders—Achille Grandi for the Christian Unions, Buono Buozzi for the old General Confederation of Workers, and Di Vittorio for the embryonic Communist Unions—came together and agreed to the Pact of Rome, by which a single Confederation of Italian Workers came into existence with a membership of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions. A central point in their agreement was that there was to be no antireligious activity. But the world knows how far we may trust the Communist's word.

On September 12th appeared the first number of *Don Basilio*, an anticlerical sheet of probably unprecedented scurrility, to be followed in the course of the next few months by *Il Mercante* and *Il Pollo*[1]. In these libellous productions no charge was too foul to hurl at the clergy, and when the Holy Father issued an excommunication against the producers and readers of *Don Basilio*, the second paper, *Il Mercante*, came out, with its vile attacks almost exclusively directed against the person of the Holy Father himself. Few were deceived by the pretence that these periodicals were the expression of a spontaneous anticlerical movement. Even the Liberal *Il Tempo* stigmatised the outburst as artificially created for political purposes. The scenes of popular enthusiasm at the annual celebration of the Immaculate Conception in the Piazza di Spagna and the rally of some 200,000 Romans to hear the Pope on December 22nd left no doubt as to what the Romans thought.

[1] To give some colour to the idea of a popular upsurge of anticlericalism, isolated incidents were staged in various towns of Italy : delayed action bombs in churches, tear-gas bombs thrown at religious processions, a blasphemous parade in church vestments at a dance in Milan, a monk attacked and disrobed in Bologna.

The *genre* of these papers was unmistakenly Communist: in the first number, *Don Basilio* upbraided the Pope for his intransigeancy towards Moscow; the portraits of the clergy as friends of the fascists and of the millionaires recall too vividly the type of poster that with unimaginative regularity adorns all Soviet anti-God displays. The fact that *Don Basilio* was printed in editions of 250,000 was in itself a pointer to the only political party in Italy that has no solvency problem. Besides, the unsold copies were stored in Communist centres and were later distributed free from those centres. When, after the Papal condemnation, the original printer of *Don Basilio* refused to continue its production, it was transferred to the press which produces the Communist and Socialist organs, *Unità* and *Avanti*. The government department that controls the licensing of kiosks through the city made it clear that the newsvendors had to accept the paper—and this department is in Communist hands.

The fact that both Togliatti and Nenni have disclaimed all responsibility for this anticlerical campaign means little, except perhaps that they realised that it was badly timed! De Gasperi certainly made it clear, in a speech before the Constituent Assembly, that his government, however fettered by the insincerity of their irresponsible Leftist collaborators in government, were not going to tolerate such manifestations. *Il Mercante* was seized on its appearance on December 7th, and its director was brought to trial and given the maximum penalty, two years imprisonment.

The campaign was certainly ill-timed. Rome is still too conscious of its debt to the Holy Father, who saved it from destruction and who since the liberation, has done the impossible to furnish it with at least the minimum of food-supplies. For their own guidance, the Communists might have remembered the remark made by the ex-Minister Ruini when he, together with members of all antifascist parties (including the Communists), enjoyed Vatican protection against the Gestapo: "This will set back anticlericalism thirty years."

* * *

If the picture of present-day Italy which emerges from the foregoing pages is later found to have been too sombre, the defect is perhaps due to the fact that, with such an overpowering accumulation of tragic elements at one point of history, we, who are too close to the events, cannot see the wood for the trees. In such evaluations, the temptation to be over-pessimistic is very real, and often the better diagnosis would be: "too bad to be true". There is a law of action and reaction in the affairs of men as truly as in the physical world, and Italy has acquired, in the stern school of experience, an almost unique power of recovery from such crises. One is reminded of the words which our late Holy Father used at another critical point in Italian history: "To-morrow is in the hands of God . . . and therefore in good hands."

FRANCIS JOY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MACKENNA, S.J.

LXXXI

Ó hEADHRA'S POET SPEAKS TO HIM*

The Book of the O'Haras (3 B 14) contains the following poem to Cormac (chief of his name, + 1612, son of Cian, son of Oilill, son of Maghnus, son of Ruaidhrí, son of Seaán, son of Tadhg). Fiants 3396, 5475 give Cormac Ó hEaghra of Annaghmore, Coolaney as being appointed Seneschal of Ó hEaghra Buidhe's country of Machaire Luighne, Co. Sligo, 1 Aug. 1578, and as being pardoned 27 Oct. 1590.

The poet's family-name is anglicised Killerlean in Co. Sligo, and Mac Erlean in Co. Derry. The Sligo family of them lived in the Rosses, a district just north of Sligo town which belonged originally to the monastery of Druim Cliabh, but passed subsequently into the possession of the Bishop of Elphin. These Rosses, as the plural implies, were divided into two parts. The first or southern part was known as An Ros Uachtarach, or Ros Uí Bheoláin, and the second or northern part was called An Ros Íochtarach or Ros Mhic an Fhirléighinn. At the end of the Elizabethan wars the following were pardoned along with O'Conor Sligo: "Moriertagh Mc Enyreleyne of Ros Mc Enyrline, husbandman, and Dermot Dale Mc Enyrline of the same, husbandman" (Patent Rolls James I, 19 April 1603). The Composition Book of Connaught says that their patrimony consisted of 1¼ quarters of profitable lands.

DIARMUID DALL MAC AN FHIR LÉIGHINN .cc.

1. Fada re huaisle clann Chéin;
a-táid re hathaidh n-imchéin
ag cathachadh thiar is toir
bha scathachadh bhfial bhFionntoin.

2. Ó do chuirsead cath Crionna,
leomhain go gcruas gcoimhlionga,
laoich fhromhtha ar nar cinniodh cath,
nír filliodh ortha a n-énrath.

3. Gérbh iomdha cath is cogadh
go fóill riamh a rabhodar,
croinn ós fheadhuibh tolcha Táil,
nír mheabhaidh orrtha a n-aoncháil.

4. A-tá cogadh nuaidhe a-niudh
ar shíol gCéin—cóir a mhaoidhiomh—
nar iomchradar roimhe riamh,
fionnphobal mhoighe Maicniadh.

5. A gclú gé do-chóidh a bhfad,
as é an cogadh nar chleachtsad,
sluagh ogal céillidh Connla,
cogadh éinfhir ealodhna.

* For much help in editing this poem I am indebted to Father John Mac Erlean, S.J.

6. Gin go ccoisgeadh clanna Cuinn
síol gCéin mheic Oilill Óluim,
coisgfidh mé iad um aonar,
's siad re a re gan robhaoghal.

7. Do cuiriodh oruinn, más fhíor,
beagán d'fhuighlibh tre fhairbríogh
do rádh re caithbhile ó gCéin;
aithrighe dob ál ainnséin.

8. Tarla dhúinn 'n-a dheaghuidh sin
bha cheann gcorma uair éigin
fa dhán badh chéillidh comhrádh
glár far éirig iomarbhádh.

9. Do labhros gér bhorb an bhreath
mar do bhí m'inntinn uaibhreach
gan oirrim gcáigh dá chéile
re coinnil Chláir Choirrshléibhe.

10. Fine Chonaill is clann Néill,
tairngeartaigh Éirionn iaidséin,
fir chumuinn fa chruaidh cogadh,
urruim uainn ní fhuaradar.

11. Ním ghabh eagla rompa riamh,
síol Conchubhair clann Uilliam,
ná siol lonn toirbheartach Táil,
drong fa oirbheartach n-iomráidh.

12. Síol na gColla gidh iad ann,
clann Charrthaigh chríche Fréamhann,
nó Gearaltaigh grádh gach fhir,
[deaghaltraigh] na ndámh nduillidh.

13. Cath oirbheartach Aodha Finn
do-ghéabhuinn uatha uirrim,
's ó amhsaibh Éireann uile,
gasraidh mhéirsheang Mhaonmhuighe.

14. Nír éisdios le hÓ nEadhra,
bím teann ar gach dtighearna,
fear do ghabh le cabhair gcáigh
car 'n-a aghaidh dob éagcáir.

15. Do-rinne mé is mac Úna
troid do b'fhachoin iomthnúdha
far éirigh fearg na flatha
dar cheard déinimh deaghratha.

16. A-tá sinn ó sin a-le
a ngoil chogaidh re chéile;
biaidh a-rís róinn gan ghábhadh
grís is chóir do chombádhadh.

17. Guais is mhó le clannaibh Céin
gidh lán Leath Chuinn dá gcaithréim
tachor ruinn do rígh Luighne;
bím fa chuing a ccomuirghe.

18. Bheith mar do bhámuir reimhe
réidh a haithle ar n-oirbheire;
mó is fhonnmhar an geall do ghlac,
fearr an connradh do Chormac.

19. Muna mhaithe gríobh Ghaileang
damh a ndearnas d'uraigheall
gidh fiu [agra] ar Ó nEadhra
ní bhiu ag tagra as tighearna.

20. Dá ndearnuinn mar nar dhleacht damh
trom ar oide na n-ánradh
bím fein um fhaghoil gun fhior
céim 'n-a aghoidh ní héidior.

21. Gus a-niudh-is tráth dá thuigsin—
dá gcreideadh an Cormuicsin,—
a thol gen go dtabhoir dhamh
cor am aghoidh ní fhédfadh.

Fada//re//huaisle//clann//Chéin

Translation

1. Long has Cian's race been engaged in noble deeds; for a long time have they been fighting in every direction for Fionntan's noble flowery mead.

2. Since they fought the fight of Crionna, those lions of hard conflict, those seasoned warriors against whom went the decision of no battle—never has their unchanging fortune turned against them.

3. Though many the fights and wars they have been in, those (heroes like) trees oertopping the woods of the Hill of Tál have never been surpassed in any excellence.

4. But on Cian's race today there impends—I must tell of it—a new kind of war such as this fair folk of the Plain of Maicnia has not yet faced.

5. Though the fame of Connla's brave wise host has spread afar, this is a war they have not yet experienced, a war against a single learned man.

6. Though Conn's races could not withstand them, I by myself will withstand the race of Cian son of Oilill Ólum, those warriors who never met danger too great for them.

7. I am charged, it appears, with having spoken a few words in insulting fashion to the (warrior, the) battle-tree of the race of Cian ; they want an apology for this.

8. Afterwards on one occasion during a banquet there was addressed to me in reference to a poem (of mine) quite quiet in its language an expression which gave rise to a dispute.

9. As my temper was roused, I addressed—'twas bold of me, I know—some words to the (warrior) torch of the Plain of Coirrshliabh, words wanting in the respect we should all have for each other.

10. The races of Conall and Niall were the prophesied ones of Éire, and yet those hard-fighting friends of mine had not (always) got respectful homage from me.

11. I had felt no fear before the Í Chonchobhair or Clann Uilliam or the vigorous generous race of Tál (Í Bhriain), folk of well-established fame.

12. Or even the race of the Collas (Mac Mathghamhna, Mág Uidhir, etc.), or the race of Carthach of the land of Fréamhainn, or the Gearaltaigh, beloved of all men, good fosterers of book-loving poets.

13. I could have commanded the homage of Aodh Fionn's martial troop (Í Ruairc, etc.), (and) the slender-fingered race of Maonmhagh (Í Cheallaigh, etc. ?), and of all the warriors of Éire.

14. I can face any chieftain boldly, and so I refused to hearken to Ó hEadhra. (Yet) 'twas wrong to resist that hero who has ever been aiding all men.

15. Úna's son (Cormac Ó hEadhra) and I engaged in a quarrel which caused bad feeling, and which roused the anger of that prince whose life-work is to bring good-fortune to folk.

16. Ever since then we have been fiercely quarrelling, and now we are needlessly (?) facing a new blaze of fight which ought to be quenched.

17. Though Leath Chuinn is full of their battle-achievements, what Cian's race dreads most is that the Lord of Luighne quarrel with me ; for in general I am under the bond of their protection.

18. 'Tis easy for us after our quarrel to be friends as before ; the promise (of peace) which Cormac has got is more welcome (than ever), and the peace-making is more to his advantage.

19. (But) even if Ó hEadhra, the Griffin of the Gaileanga, refuse me pardon for my words, I shall cease my contention with him, my chieftain, though I have a case against him worth pleading.

20. If I venture—as, of course, I should not—to speak harshly to that fosterer of poets I become the prey of the hero, I can not advance against him.

21. 'Tis time for Cormac to realise this—if he believes it at all—that in days gone by he never could have attacked me no matter how he disagreed with me.

Textual Notes

Text is 3 B 14, pp. 88-91 except for the following :—

2*c*. fro. ; cinid 3*c*. fea. 5*c*. sluaigh *d*. -loghna 6*c*. iat *d*. 's *abest* 7*a*. flor *b*. fair. 8*c*. céi gco. *d*. glór 9*c*. cháich 10*b*. tairrg. ; iatséin *c*. cru. *d*. uain ; bhfu 11*a*. Níum gabh ; riompa *b*. gCo. *c*. ttoi *d*. hoir ; iomráidh 12*d*. deagailtroimh ; duillidh *occurs nowhere else* ; " leafy," i.e. " bookloving " ? or *leg*. ndíllidh ? 13*b*. urruim *c*. -ionn *d*. -eing 14*b*. ti *c*. ghaibh ; cháich *d*. cor 15*b*. -útha *d*. déanamh 16*d*. cóir ; -bhádha 17*a*. mó 18*a*. roimhe *b*. fonn 19*a*. mai. ; Gailiong *b*. -dheall *c*. ar ngrádh 20*b*. n-annradh 21*b*. dá ; -ac sin *c*. thoil *d*. cur

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART XV.—SWANS AND GEESE

Swans are remarkable for their large size, white plumage and long neck which surpasses or equals the body in length. The sexes are alike and the young are greyish-brown. Three species are found in Ireland, The Whooper and Bewick's, known as wild swans, and the Mute Swan, popularly called the tame or domesticated swan. Swans are included with geese and ducks in the Order of birds named *Anseriformes*.

THE WHOOPER SWAN.—Ussher and Warren (1900) considered the Whooper Swan a rare and irregular winter visitor, much less numerous than Bewick's. They added, however, that in severe winters they had found a fair sprinkling of records from most counties, including those in the extreme south. All reports and observations in recent years went to show that the Whooper was the more numerous, except perhaps in the south-east. This change of status was particularly noticeable in the west of Ireland and in Co. Cavan. Major R. F. Ruttledge has for some years seen large numbers of Whoopers near Craughwell, Co. Galway, and at Achill and the Mullet, Co. Mayo. But in the winter 1946-47 Bewick's Swans were again the more numerous and widespread. It would seem that the relative standing of the two species changes periodically —perhaps at short intervals.

Whoopers usually appear in December and January. November 2nd was the earliest date Ussher and Warren could give for their arrival, but on October 12th 1942 two Whooper Swans were identified on the North Bull, Dublin. They leave in February and March, but there have been a few records for May and June. Formerly the numbers seen in this country were usually small. Payne-Gallwey (1882) says : " I have seldom met with a dozen Whoopers together." On January 3rd 1946 Mr. S. F. Scroope saw twelve at Sandymount, Dublin, and in recent years larger herds have been observed in Cavan and Galway.

The Whooper is nearly as big as the Mute Swan. But size alone, where there is no opportunity of comparison, is insufficient as a means of identification. The best character is the bill. In the Whooper it is yellow at the base and black at the tip and lacks the basal knob, which is so conspicuous a feature of the Mute. The yellow is wedge-shaped and extends from the eye below and beyond the nostril, forming one continuous patch across the upper base of the bill, not divided into two patches as in Bewick's. A curious optical delusion is caused by this colour pattern ;

when the Whooper is some distance away, the black tip seems to overhang. On the water this species also differs from the Mute Swan in the stiffer and straighter carriage of the neck, without the graceful curves, and in keeping its wings folded close to its back, and not arched. In flight the wings do not produce the musical sound so noticeable in the flight of the Mute.

The Whooper is remarkable for the constant use of its vocal powers both on the water and in the air. The usual call in flight is a loud bugle-like double note, generally rendered as " whoopa," though many other versions are given. The call is repeated several times in succession, with a slight pause between each double note, the second of which is higher-pitched than the first. A more subdued production is used on the water. The legend of the Swan Song, ever dear to the hearts of poets, is said to have some basis of fact in this species, for the dying Whooper, in the final expiration of air from its long convoluted windpipe, produces a wailing, flute-like sound which is given out quite slowly.

With the exception of a few pairs nesting in Scotland, the Whooper breeds in northern Europe and Asia from Norway and Sweden to Kamtschatka, and winters south over Europe from Belgium to the Iberian peninsula and Italy, in Algeria and Tunisia, and east to Asia Minor and Persia.

BEWICK'S SWAN.—For some years until the winter 1946-47 Bewick's Swan was less common than the Whooper, though it has been a more or less regular winter visitor to certain marine loughs and fresh-water lakes near the coast of Ulster, Connaught, and Kerry in Munster. In Leinster it appears only occasionally. Four were identified on the North Bull, Dublin, in October 1941, and twenty-five were seen in January and February 1943 on the recently made hydro-electric lake at Poulaphouca, Co. Wicklow. Formerly in severe winters large herds, ranging from 400 to 1,000, were reported in some places. (*Birds of Ireland*, by Ussher and Warren, p. 185). In the present century large numbers have been seldom recorded. In January 1945 Major Ruttledge saw over 200 near Craughwell, Co. Galway, while Mrs. Gough at about the same time reported big herds in the same place. In January 1947 Major Ruttledge found not less than 200 in the Moy Valley, Co. Mayo, the largest parties being 68, 46 and 42. Bewick's Swans usually arrive in December, sometimes in October, but a hard frost may bring them at any time during winter. They generally leave towards the end of February, seldom remaining until March. Thompson (1850) mentions two occurrences in March, and Ussher and Warren (1900) apparently had no further record in their time. On March 25th 1940 Mr. Commissioner O'Shiel, Mr. P. E. Dunn and I saw four on a lake near Balla, Co. Mayo, while in the same place, also in March, Major Ruttledge reports having seen

fifty-three. Four were reported from Co. Derry in May 1936 and one at Termoncarragh, Co. Mayo, in July 1939.

Bewick's Swan is much smaller than the Whooper. The latter and the Mute Swan have a total length of c. 60 inches, with a body length of c. 30, while Bewick's has these measurements as c. 48 and c. 24 respectively. But size alone is often deceptive, and the best mark for identification is the extent and shape of the yellow patch at the base of the bill. I remember, in connection with the March record mentioned above, that we got our first view of the birds from the road, and seeing that the base of their bills was yellow and their necks held straight, we decided they were wild swans; but not until we had approached nearer and had seen that the yellow patch terminated abruptly behind the nostril, not tapering to a point, could we say definitely that they were Bewick's and not Whoopers. Later, however, the four moved off to the other side of the lake where there were two Mute Swans, and then the difference in size was very apparent indeed.

Bewick's Swan breeds farther north in Europe and Asia than the Whooper. On the Yenesei Seebohm recognized no other species north of the Arctic Circle. The winter is spent in western and eastern Europe, south to the Mediterranean and Caspian Seas and in central Asia.

THE MUTE SWAN.—The Mute Swan is resident in a semi-feral state on the lakes, rivers, canals and harbours of the four provinces. In the present century Swans have increased to such an extent that fishermen are clamouring for a reduction of their numbers on the plea that they disturb and prevent the hatching of the fish spawn. However that may be, on other grounds they seem to be too numerous for the balance of bird life. Though it must be admitted that they are very ornamental, they are rather aggressive to other birds; they kill young water fowl by drowning them, though they do not eat them. They consume the food of wild duck and other sporting birds and thereby tend to lessen their numbers. Thus among other vegetation they eat *Zostera marina*, popularly known as wigeon grass, the favourite food of Wigeon in the autumn. It is true that in some places certain numbers were shot during the recent war and exported to England for food, and since the end of the war other numbers were killed for their feathers which are now used in the manufacture of cosmetics. But there was such an outcry against the alleged cruelty that the killing has almost completely ceased. Public opinion in Ireland has always been against killing or molesting Swans; but if precautions were taken against inflicting unnecessary suffering, we could well spare hundreds of Swans annually without endangering the existence of the species in the country.

The early history of the Mute Swan in Ireland is unknown. The probability is that the bird was introduced by the English settlers. The

theory formerly held, on insufficient evidence, that the Mute Swan was introduced into England from Cyprus in the time of Richard, Coeur de Lion, is no longer favoured. It is now believed as more likely that Swans were always indigenous in some of the eastern counties of England, and probably also on the Thames, and that the original wild stock was gradually brought by capture and pinioning into a semi-domesticated condition, beginning prior to 1186. From the 13th to the 18th century all Swans in England, but not in Scotland, were the property of the Crown and, under royal licence, of communities, corporations and private persons, and their keeping was governed by a strict code of statutes and ancient customs enforced by the King's Swan Master. Under licence marks (cygninotae), by which the birds could be distinguished, were assigned to all qualified owners. " Swan-upping," when the cygnets were rounded up and marked, took place in July and August. The cygnets were highly esteemed for the table and were sometimes fattened on special food in " swanpits". This was an expensive process, but was said to have been worth the cost by those who shared the result. During the 18th century the custom of marking and the usages connected with it gradually died out except to a limited extent on the Thames and in a few places in Norfolk where they are still observed. There is no evidence that swan-marking was ever practised in Ireland. The few birds kept in the enclosed estates in this country were merely for ornamental purposes. These were pinioned and, owing (it is said) to in-breeding, they were slow in showing any very marked increase in numbers. The young, however, which happened to be left unpinioned, escaped to the open lakes and rivers and there, mingling with strangers, proved more fertile. At the beginning of the century Ussher and Warren commented on the considerable increase noticed in certain favourable localities. But when the big estates were broken up, the Swans spread over the country and rapidly multiplied, so that now herds of over one hundred are not regarded as remarkable.

The Mute Swan differs from the Whooper and Bewick's in having an orange bill with the base and the prominent basal knob black, while the Whooper and Bewick's have the bill black at the tip and yellow at the base. It carries its neck in a more graceful S-shaped curve. Though the sexes are otherwise much alike, the bill knob is larger in the Cob than in the Pen, as the male and female are respectively called. Compared with the other two species it is a rather silent bird, but it is not altogether " mute". It utters an explosive, snorting sound in the vicinity of its nest and when it is being fed on ornamental waters. It has also a louder and more resonant note which is sometimes heard from completely domesticated birds. The flight, with slow, regular and powerful wing-beats, produces a kind of musical humming throb, which is quite distinctive and audible for a considerable distance. The food is mostly vegetable. It feeds like ducks by dipping its neck under water and, often in deeper

waters, by " up-ending " to reach the submerged vegetation. The late Mr. W. J. Williams, when on one occasion he was being rowed up Lough Erne, noticed an " up-ended " Swan near one of the islands and, thinking that it was just feeding, paid no further attention to it. But on his return in the evening he saw the Swan in the same position. On investigation he found the Swan's head securely held in the mouth of a 10 lb. pike, both the Swan and the pike being dead. It would appear that the pike, mistaking the head of the feeding Swan for some ordinary prey, swallowed it and then, failing to disgorge it, must have struggled until both itself and the Swan were exhausted and drowned.

The Mute Swan nests freely almost anywhere near water. In 1946 from Portobello to Ringsend on the Grand Canal three pairs brought off their broods. In the wild state it breeds in Denmark, Germany, Poland, Romania (Dobrogea), Russia, Asia Minor and from Turkestan to Mongolia and E. Siberia. It occurs as a migrant in central Europe, but is only an accidental visitor to France, Spain and Italy.

The so called " Polish Swan," the cygnets of which are white from the first, is only a variety of the Mute Swan and not a separate species.

Wild Geese

The wild geese which have visited this country fall naturally into three groups : the grey, white and black geese. While representatives of the grey and black geese come annually, white geese are only rare and accidental vagrants from Arctic America.

THE GREY LAG-GOOSE.—The Grey Lag-Goose is a winter visitor from October to April or May. While rare in most counties, it frequents in large numbers some well-known resorts. It has increased and is spreading in some localities, but is giving way to the White-fronted Goose in others. Though Ussher and Warren (1900) stated that they had no record of the species in Co. Wexford, the North and South Sloblands near Wexford Harbour are now perhaps the best known resort of the Grey Lag in Ireland. It now seems certain that some Grey Lags had appeared on the Slobs in 1898. At any rate since 1900 they have continued to come in increasing numbers, though in recent years, it is said, they are being gradually superseded by the White-fronted Geese. In 1946 Grey Lags on the Slobs were estimated to be about 5,000 in number, while the White-fronted were put down at about the same figure. Ten thousand wild geese, most of them within view at the same time on the level grassland of the Slobs, with detachments rising from time to time to fly from one field to another and giving tongue like packs of fox-hounds in full cry, is I think one of the most magnificent and impressive sights of the bird life in this country. Mr. J. L. Nunn, who has the shooting rights of the North Slob, restricts

the shooting to one day a month during the season, and then only if the weather is wild or stormy so as not to disturb the birds. Consequently the geese are here much less wild than anywhere else and at times appear as tame as farm-yard fowl. Grey Lags are now also numerous in the marshes near Ballyteige Bay to the south-west of Wexford Harbour. There they preponderate over the White-fronted. Formerly the Lower Shannon was one of the strongholds of the species, but owing to aircraft disturbance wild geese have abandoned most of the estuary, though some still frequent the Limerick side of the river. In the " corcass " lands of Co. Limerick the Grey Lag is the species, and though numerous the flocks are never very large. Other favourite resorts are the Murroughs of Co. Wicklow, Lurgan Green near Dundalk, in Co. Meath at the mouth of the Boyne and a few adjacent inland localities, and the Downpatrick marshes, Co. Down. It is said to be common in Antrim and Donegal, and Dublin gets a small quota at Donabate. Since 1900 some areas in Co. Waterford and one or two in Co. Kilkenny have been frequented. Grey Lags stray to Cork, Derry, the neighbourhood of the Shannon near Portumna and eastern Galway. Hitherto in lists of Irish birds and in books on birds (*v.g.* Witherby's *Handbook of British Birds,* 1939) Mayo has been given as one of the chief counties visited by the species, but in recent years Major R. F. Ruttledge has diligently searched the county without finding a single Grey Lag, not even in the Moy valley.

The Grey Lag is the largest species of our wild geese and is almost exactly like the farm-yard goose, which was probably originally derived from it and which in the course of domestication has grown more portly and less agile. It is characterized by its pale grey fore-wing which is often very striking in flying birds, sometimes in sun-light appearing quite white. Its large and stout bill is orange and flesh-coloured, with no black and with a white or sometimes brownish nail, and occasionally with a little white feathering at the base. The legs and feet are flesh-colour. The head and neck are not darker than the body. The lower breast and abdomen are dull-white with some black spots, but not barred as in the White-fronted. The upper and under tail-coverts are white. The tail is grey with white tips and so over-lapped by the white coverts that the effect in flight is of a white tail with a broad dark subterminal band.

The flight is direct with regular wing-beats and quite swift. Flocks when migrating or travelling some distance fly in V-formation or in trailing lines ; in shorter flights there is often no regular formation, though the spacing between the birds remains even. Like the other species the Grey Lag is gregarious outside the breeding season.

The note is just like that of the farm-yard bird and is loud and resonant and, when heard from big skeins in flight, quite musical.

The Grey Lag is probably the wild goose which bred in the bog of Allen and in a bog near Kirkistown, Co. Down, in the eighteenth century.

It still breeds in decreasing numbers in parts of northern Scotland, but its main breeding grounds are in Iceland, Norway and Sweden, Finland, the Baltic States and Russia north to Novgorod. Two young birds ringed in Iceland in July were recovered in Wexford and Tyrone during the following winter.

THE WHITE-FRONTED GOOSE.—The White-fronted, being the most numerous and wide-spread species, may be called the wild goose of Ireland. It is found in flocks great and small over the bog-lands, moors, callows, and lake islands in the four provinces. The two great resorts, where the numbers reach thousands, are the Slobs at Wexford and the Shannon area near Banagher and Portumna. Resorts in many counties have annual visitations of hundreds, while Dublin, Wicklow, Cork and Limerick receive only stragglers. But at Mellon near the Shannon, Co. Limerick, in January 1928 I counted 150 in a flock of feeding White-fronts, and occasionally a few are still shot in that area in spite of the general diminution of wild geese there owing to the air-craft disturbance already mentioned. Louth, Meath and Waterford are the only counties in which the species is very rare or absent. Some resorts in the great Midland bogs have been abandoned owing to turf development schemes and drainage work.

The White-fronted Goose is a darker bird than the Grey Lag and, when adult, the most easily identified of the grey geese. It has a prominent white patch at the base of the bill and black barring on the breast which varies considerably and is sometimes very extensive. The wings look uniformly dark in flight, the fore-wing not being markedly paler than the rest as in the Grey Lag. Young birds, lacking the white feathering at the base of the bill and the black barring on the breast, are all too frequently in this country called Grey Lag or Bean Geese. Apparently the colour of the bill is different in the White-fronts of Great Britain and in those of Ireland. The bills of the British birds are pale pink to rich rose-red, while those of the Irish birds are orange or yellow. Major Ruttledge and Mr. John Barlee, who have done extensive and very careful watching of wild geese in this country, have never yet seen a true pink-billed bird among the thousands of White-fronts which they have examined. Until quite recently this point received little or no attention, but now some leading authorities hold that the pink-billed birds come to Britain from the Palaearctic region, while the yellow-billed birds of Ireland are the Greenland White-fronted Geese. Curiously enough in January 1947 Mr. F. W. Fox of Tallaght shot four pink-billed birds, out of a party of eleven White-fronts, near Rush, Co. Dublin. These are supposed to have been accidental, perhaps storm-driven, strays from Britain, as they were by themselves and in a place usually frequented by Grey Lags.

The legs in both types are orange. This species is more agile than the

other grey geese; it can rise almost perpendicularly from the ground and in flight it can quickly reverse its direction. Its voice is higher pitched, more metallic and, it seems to me, less pleasing than the Grey Lag's. Where both species are present, as they are on the Slobs at Wexford, one soon learns to distinguish one from the other by their notes.

The White-fronted Goose breeds in the N. Holarctic region from N.E. Russia and Siberia eastward to the Tchukchi peninsula and in arctic North America.

THE BEAN-GOOSE.—According to the books it would seem that the Bean-Goose was formerly not uncommon in this country. Watters (1853) says: "This species appears to be rather widely distributed over the island." Ussher and Warren (1900) write: "Winter-visitor, but not nearly so common and wide-spread as the White-fronted Goose." Now it is the rarest of the grey geese which visit this country. According to Mr. J. L. Nunn the Bean was the first wild goose to frequent the Slobs of Wexford after reclamation (c. 1845), and it was considered common, but was gradually superseded by the Grey Lag. He now regards it as very rare. Unfortunately the name "Bean-Goose" is still largely misapplied, as it was in the days of Payne-Gallwey and Ussher and Warren, to the first year White-fronts, to Pink-feet and even to Grey Lags. Hence some Irish ornithologists are sceptical about the Bean-Goose having ever been more than a rare and accidental visitor, unless perhaps in exceptionally hard winters. In February 1917, towards the end of a very severe and prolonged frost, two were shot out of a flock of 70-80 near Hollymount, Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo. This seems to be the last authentic Irish record of the species in any numbers.

The trouble is that the Bean is the most difficult wild goose to identify. It is said to feed by night and to be extremely wary by day. Then the differences between it and other species are few and not very prominent. But it is a rather long and slim bird, with a noticeably long neck. It is the brownest of the grey geese, often very dark, though some White-fronts are quite as dark. The head and neck are not darker than the back, yet the contrast with the paler breast is quite strong, but not so marked as in the very dark-headed Pink-foot. The fore-wing is as dark as the rest of the wing. The legs are orange or orange-yellow. The bill is longer and stouter than in the Pink-foot, and is orange-yellow and black, with two types of colour distribution: one is nearly black with an orange-yellow band near the tip, the other is mainly orange-yellow with a black nail, while between these extreme types there are intermediate patterns. The yellow-billed type is more frequent in these islands. Some birds have a narrow white band at the base of the bill. There are no black markings on the under-parts. It is the most silent of the geese,

but occasionally it utters a gruff, disyllabic note slightly reminiscent of the baaing of sheep.

The Bean-Goose breeds in the Palaearctic region, in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Siberia east to Taimyr.

THE PINK-FOOTED GOOSE.—Ussher and Warren, writing of the Pink-footed Goose in 1900, could mention only one which was obtained on Lough Swilly, Donegal, on October 21st 1891, together with a few probable sight records. On February 17th 1908 a second was shot on Lough Key, Roscommon. Then after the lapse of nearly twenty years Mr. J. L. Nunn reported a Pink-foot which was shot on the Wexford Slobs on November 1st 1927. Another was obtained in the same place on February 19th 1929. Witherby in the *Handbook* (1939) gives twelve records for Ireland. Since 1940, records of birds obtained and of fully authenticated sight identifications have appeared with increasing frequency. This may be largely due to greater alertness on the part of sportsmen and observers, and no doubt many Pink-feet escaped notice in the past. Even at present it is likely that the species is more common than the records show. Then in the field, with perhaps hundreds of geese about, it is no easy matter for an observer to pick out a Pink-foot, although he may know from their call-notes that some are present. Yet the records are mounting up and have already come from the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, Louth, Meath, Offaly, Limerick, Galway, Sligo, Donegal and Down. Usually the Pink-foot has been found singly or in very small numbers. In January 1944 Mr. J. L. Nunn reported a party of twelve as frequenting the North Slobs, Wexford, while in January 1946 Mr. F. W. Fox saw a small flock in the Banagher district.

The Pink-foot is smaller than the Grey Lag and is distinguished by the contrast of its dark head and neck with its rather pale body, by its smaller delicately shaped bill, which is black with a pink band, and by its pink legs. In flight the fore-wing looks pale-greyish, but not quite so pale as in the Grey Lag. There are no black markings on the under-parts. Young birds are darker and lack the pale edgings to the feathers of the back, while beneath they have a marbled appearance, not uniform grey as adults have. The voice is quite distinctive. The notes have been syllabled as " ung-ünk " and " wink-wink". When Mr. P. E. Dunn and I heard these notes on the North Slobs, Wexford, they sounded to our ears as the call of some unfamiliar duck, very different from the honking of the Grey Lags and White-fronts.

The Pink-foot breeds in N.E. Greenland, in Iceland and in Spitsbergen. A specimen shot in Wexford on November 12th 1932 was found to have been ringed in Iceland on September 24th 1929.

P. G. KENNEDY

WILLIAM LARMINIE

1849-1900

BY JOHN J. O'MEARA, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON.)

THE subject of this article was a civil servant, a poet, a folk-lorist, a translator of one of the most difficult philosophical writings of the Middle Ages ; but, above all and especially, he was a man converted from indifference, and perhaps condescension, towards Ireland, his native land, to a passionate love for her. He was one of the men who prepared the way for the literary Gaelic Revival at the end of the last century, and as such it is right that his name should be remembered.

William Larminie was born on the first day of August 1849 at Castlebar, Co. Mayo. His father was a descendant of one of the many Huguenot émigrés who settled in Ireland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The young William was educated at Kingstown School, and later at Trinity College, where he graduated in 1871, obtaining a Moderatorship in Classics, a medal and other prizes. Subsequently he learnt German and Irish. He worked for many years in the English Civil Service, in the India Office, and retired (it would appear) about seven or eight years before his death, which occurred at Bray on January 19, 1900. His grave is in Enniskerry Churchyard. During the fifteen years before his death, Larminie brought out two slender volumes of verse, a collection of West-Irish Folk-Tales, and occasional contributions in prose and verse to a number of periodicals. He also translated in great part, but never published, the *De Divisione Naturae* of Joannes Scottus Eriugena. The unpublished manuscript is in the National Library, a pathetic testimony to his great interest and our indifference.

Of William Larminie there is in the archives of the Folklore Commission—that depositary of so much that is, and was, good and rich in our cultural tradition—a handsome portrait. The mise-en-scène is, judged by existing standards, a trifle elaborate. But Larminie himself is attractive and interesting. The face is both sensitive and strong, with eyes bright and dreaming set well forward over a long, straight, and finely-chiselled nose. The heavy strong mandible of a Westerner is only partly concealed by a becoming beard. The expression is pleasing but determined.

Larminie began to write verses at least as early as 1864, when he was fifteen. The Irish Folklore Commission possesses a manuscript copy of many of his unpublished pieces, and from that manuscript we can trace the development of the young man's verse technique and maturing mind. It may be said at the outset that Larminie is not likely ever to be regarded as a poet of any considerable merit. The technical faults of his verse alone are only too marked. All the same there is deep

sincerity in all his poetry and a bracing vividness in his narrative work—especially that dealing with Celtic mythology and history, in which he took such great delight. These qualities will always commend him to us. It is indeed as one who came to discover Ireland ; as one who spent all his leisure and years of retirement in the loving attempt to glorify his native land ; as one whose devotion and industry and vision should put us of this later date to shame—it is for these reasons that he moves our interest and compels our attention.

In January 1872 Miss A. L. Hildebrand's book of poetry, *Western Lyrics*, made such a deep impression on the young man of twenty-three that he formed the resolution to do as she had done : to glorify his native land in song :—

O thou, that from the further shore
Of this remotest land,
Mak'st thy voice heard mid'st ocean's roar
Across from strand to strand,
Accept this word of praise from one
Who hopes to do as thou hast done.

* * * *

Oh, long had been our hills unsung,
Our isle a temple fair
That scarce had heard from poet's tongue
A hymn of love or prayer ;
Hence hath the muse not loved to dwell
In haunts that else had pleased her well.

But oftener than in days of yore
To us she now will come.
Is it by Turlough or Kylemore
She now has made her home ?
Or where, of thy brief mention proud,
Nephin draws down the passing cloud ?

There is little doubt but that many of the poems on patriotic themes which are to be found in the manuscript to which we have referred were written during the years 1872–1881. In 1881 however we get, perhaps, the closest view of the change that was gradually going on in his mind. In that year Larminie visited Windermere and the grave of Wordsworth (who seems to have influenced him greatly), and composed some verses which appear under the title of " From Ullswater to Mayo". Even at Ullswater he could not put Ireland out of his mind :—

Fair shores, it is for you I crave
From you I have been absent long
To you at length returns my song :
And now I come with other eyes
Than those of old, to recognize
A change of magic, wonder-fraught
That silently its work hath wrought.

She, whom I deemed a beggar maid
Most lovely, but in rags arrayed,
Behold her now—a princess she,
Robed as beseems her royalty. . . .

We do not know the immediate source of inspiration of that poem; but soon, if he had not done so already, Larminie was to read Standish O'Grady's *History of Ireland*, a book which affected him greatly. He writes of Cuchullain :—

O long-forgotten hero, thou whose fame,
In the dark night that o'er thy country fell,
Sank ray by ray contending with the gloom;
Is it too late that we invoke thy name?
Will not thy soul magnanimous compel
Forgiveness for the wrong, which our own doom
Wrung from our hands unwilling? Oh! too well
We know our great unworthiness of thee,
Cuchullain, mild, handsome, invincible.
Yet, may thy fame's resurgence be the sign
That thy land's glory will revive with thine
To blaze co-equal and eternally.
One darkness vanquished both; let both arise,
Twin suns of splendour in th'astonished skies!

Those lines were written in 1882, as may be calculated from an entry on the verso of the manuscript, and it is interesting to note from whence Larminie got his interest in Cuchullain, whose "cult" was to be so marked very soon; that source was Standish O'Grady's book, as Larminie clearly indicates by the title of his poem: "On Reading Standish O'Grady's *History of Ireland*."

These quotations from his unpublished verses tell their own story. If one is interested in his mature poetry written out of love for his native land, then one can turn to his published works. In 1889 was published *Glanua and other Poems* in London, and in the following year *Fand and other Poems* came out in Dublin. Larminie wrote of other things besides his country: he wrote with wincing ferocity of a lady who proved unworthy—or so his unpublished verses would have us believe—of his love; with generous loyalty and affection of a dead companion, the sharer in much of his early delight in the scenery of the West; and with great seriousness of such questions as Fate and Will.

There is little doubt, however, that William Larminie will be best known in the future as being one of the few men of his generation who saw the great importance of collecting folk-tales and folk-tradition. While on holidays in the West, he spent many an hour faithfully recording as scientifically as he could the tales told by the men and women who were the inheritors of a rich tradition. Larminie was a friend of Dr. Douglas Hyde and recorded two of the stories printed by Hyde in *Leabhar*

Sgeulaigheachta (1889). This was the first book of folk-tales in the Irish language ever to appear. In his Notes Hyde writes :—

> My friend, Mr. Larminie, took down exactly as it was spoken the story of the Three Questions, as told him by a Donegal peasant. He wrote it down phonetically, and I have written it after him in Irish characters, with scarcely the change of a word. This accounts for the bad grammar, as *lán slúip de rásúir* and *de mheuracáin* for *rásúraibh* and *mheuracánaibh*, and for such phrases as *ag an fhear* for *ag an bhfear*. I have not changed them, as I wanted this story and that of *Niall Ó Cearbhuidh* to stand as specimens of the Northern Irish (p. 239).

> *Niall Ó Cearbhuidh* was carefully written down, word for word, by Mr. Larminie, in phonetic spelling, from the narrative of a peasant in South Donegal. I have altered nothing in it (p. 240).

The second of these stories was included by Hyde in his *Beside the Fire* (1890), translated into English under the title *Neil O'Carre* and acknowledged to Larminie in a note on p. 174. Hyde also says in a note on pp. 192–3 :—

> The abrupt beginning of this story is no less curious than the short, jerky sentences in which it is continued. Mr. Larminie, who took down this story phonetically, and word for word, from a native in Glencolumkille, in Donegal, informed me that all the other stories of the same narrator were characterized by the same extraordinary style.[1]

Some of these stories—eighteen of them—taken from Donegal, Mayo and Galway Larminie published in his *West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, which was brought out in London in 1893. In an excellent introduction—containing, however, some of his favourite but doubtful theories about race-distribution—he tells us that " the tales were written down in places sufficiently varied :—from the Renvyle library to the neat little farmhouse parlour at Malinmore, where I spent so many a winter's evening, solitary but for the occasional visits of some or other of my story-tellers ; from little smoky cabins, with inquisitive hens hopping on the table, to the unroofed freedom of rock or brae, under summer skies, by those thrice-lovely shores of Renvyle ; by the scarcely less beautiful, though far more rugged, crags and cliffs of Achill ; by ' the wild sea-banks ' of what has been described as the ' grandest coast in Europe '—that of Glencolumkill."

One phrase in the Introduction may, indeed should, cause us some uneasiness : " without making any allowance for the imperfect collection of our folk-lore and the quantity that must have been lost owing to the lateness of our attempts to rescue it . . ." While the Director and Staff of the Irish Folklore Commission may well be proud of the magnificent collection of material which they have saved for posterity, there must be greater anxiety than ever over the loss which is being suffered in the

[1] I am indebted to Miss Maire MacNeill for these details about Larminie's connection with Dr. Hyde.

accelerated decay of our distinctive national tradition. Every story-teller who dies now without having his message recorded carries with him irrecoverably part of our national heritage. More William Larminies are needed—if indeed it is not time for us to take a more serious national interest in what so closely affects the very life of the nation. Be that as it may, William Larminie did a man's part in this great work. In an interesting appendix to his book he gives a phonetic rendering of some of the stories. This phonetic text has met with the high approval of a competent modern authority.

Finally, we come to what must have been his most ambitious task—one still undone—the translation of the *De Divisione Naturae* of Joannes Scottus Eriugena. Two bulky volumes bound in red cloth containing his translation, as far as it went, and his thoughts about the scheme repose in the National Library. From them we can learn what he thought of the author whom he had chosen to translate. Here is what seems to be the latest draft of the prospectus of the work :—" In proposing, if a sufficient amount of support should be forthcoming, to issue the above-mentioned work, a few observations on its nature may not be out of place. The interest of the *Division of Nature* begins with the fact that it is the earliest great Philosophical and Theological work of modern Europe. The author of it, who has hitherto been little more than a name either in the country of his birth, Ireland, or in Great Britain, is sometimes classed with the Schoolmen, with whom he has hardly anything in common. . . . Erigena was both directly and indirectly the heir of the traditions of Plato. With some of the writings of that philosopher he had an immediate acquaintance ; but he was influenced to a still greater extent by the descendants of the Neo-Platonists, Dionysius and the more obscure Maximus. . . . But influences even more remote than these seem to be traceable in his work. Ideas having close affinity with those of India contribute a peculiar tone to his writings. . . . As might be anticipated from these considerations, Erigena, so far from being obsolete or antiquated, is full of a living interest. . . . In the matter of style the beauty and eloquence of the *Division of Nature* are beyond dispute". Larminie's assertions may in part be questioned, but it remains true that Eriugena is a great philosopher, an Irish philosopher, who, for the lack of interpretation, has not reached his full stature in the history of philosophy. William Larminie approached, or at any rate intended to approach, the editor of Bohn's series of translations with a view to the publication in that series of his own work. Nothing came of it. It is pathetic to see how he tried by various corrections in the original draft of his letter to make his wares appear more interesting to the public ; but the public was not interested.

At this point we should perhaps give a sample of his translation : " God, therefore, is rightly called love inasmuch as He is the cause of

all love, and is diffused through all things, and gathers all things together, and returns to Himself in an unspeakable revolution and terminates in Himself the motions of love for the whole creation. That diffusion also of the divine nature over all things that are in it and from it, is said to love all things not because is that in anywise diffused which is devoid of all motion and fills all things simultaneously, but because it diffuses and moves the contemplation of the rational mind over all things when it is the cause of the diffusion and movement of the mind to seek after it and find it, and as far as possible understand it, because it fills all things so that they may be, and gathers together all things and inseparably embraces them in the peaceful bond of universal love, so as to form an inseparable unity which is what He Himself is."

The reader may have some difficulty in following the drift of that quotation. This is partly due to the matter treated, partly to the style of Joannes Scottus Eriugena, and partly to the too great fidelity of the translation to the original text. Sentence follows sentence, clause follows clause, phrase follows phrase, even to the straining of the English language. But the difficulties of translation are at all times great, and due account must also be taken of the public for which Larminie's translation was intended. The passage quoted above was published in the Theosophical magazine, *The Internationalist*, on December 15, 1897. We cannot suppose that Larminie ever wanted to write a popular translation. He would be content, we think, if by his work those who were interested in that particular type of literature would have access to a thinker who merited their attention. In this he was successful. But there are times too when his translation almost reaches something like the eloquence of Stephen MacKenna's translation of the *Enneads* of Plotinus.

William Larminie had no small opinion of the genius and attainments of Joannes Scottus Eriugena. In some notes, prepared apparently for a lecture, he speaks of him as ' the bridge by which the Platonic influence passed into the West,' ' the Creator of Dialectics,' ' the Uniter of Theology and Philosophy,' ' the asserter of the rights of reason against authority,' ' the creator of a great system of Philosophy,' ' the anticipator of modern ideas (notably, we gather, those of ' the Idealists ' and of Spencer) ' ; and he praises him especially for ' a noble style of eloquence suffused by frequent poetry of thought, and having in it the music of a church chant of the Middle Ages.' Some, at least, of these claims have to be moderated ; but when he goes on to imply that Eriugena got most of his erudition in Ireland he is—in spite of the fact that the reason he gives is not a good one—staking a claim which cannot lightly be dismissed.

Among the notes to which we have referred we find many observations which have their own interest for us to-day. Thus we read : " It is of course in the main to modern times that Mr. Lecky refers when he speaks of the injury done to Ireland by the absenteeism of her men of genius.

That absenteeism did not, however, as he notes, begin either in this century or in the last. When we call to mind that Oliver Goldsmith and Edmund Burke in the eighteenth century only followed the example of Duns Scotus in the fourteenth, as he had followed that of Erigena in the ninth; and that the line of great Irishmen who laboured and died in foreign lands extends backwards through Columbanus and Columba, there is surely matter for reflection. What is it that has driven these men abroad? It is clear that the cause, as it is of prolonged action, must be deep-seated. . . ." These remarks need, perhaps, a little explanation, if not correction. Again he notes: "It is a melancholy reflection that had he (Eriugena) remained in his native land, we should know no more about him than that 'he died in such and such a year'." And yet again there is a whimsical and sardonic humour in: ". . . this great genius whom, having for a thousand years neglected, we are likely, as I take it, to continue to neglect".

In the *Contemporary Review* for September 1900, Larminie published an essay called "The Evidence of Design in History". One feels that he always had a taste for generalization, but in this essay he certainly indulged that taste. It was to be his last published work, for he had already died when the article came out. In the course of a wide survey of the world's history—as conceived by the philosophical historians of his day—he curiously enough succeeds in being actual for us: "What Russia already is we know. It has the shortcomings of a land that has but freshly emerged from barbarism. For the first time in history those enormous regions enjoy the peace of settled rule, and their internal development must be regarded as in itself an end of the first importance in the sum of human destinies. But it is, of course, impossible that the results of that development can be confined within Russian limits. Even if the Empire never added another square mile to its actual extent, it is clear that its influence over the rest of Asia must be incalculable in the future. In what shape that influence will take effect we cannot, of course, predict. But we may, with tolerable certainty, anticipate that Russia will constitute one of the greatest agencies through which the civilisation of Europe will take possession of the earth."

William Larminie, then, was a man who discovered within himself a passionate devotion to Ireland, her mythology, her history, her heroes, her scholars and her beauty. That devotion was not idle. Now it prompted him to write verses in her honour. Again it led him, with a consciousness of the urgency and importance of the sacred task he was performing, to record faithfully the dying accents of our folk-tradition. And yet again it drove him to the despairing and thankless task of claiming due appreciation for one of our greatest scholars, who was also one of the greatest scholars of Europe. May his memory live to inspire us to attempt as much for our country and for the world.

JOHN J. O'MEARA

MAURICE LENIHAN: HISTORIAN OF LIMERICK

BY FRANCIS FINEGAN, S.J.

PART II*

LENIHAN had not yet found the paper or the town that gave him full satisfaction. As has been said, he stayed in Limerick only about a year and a half. Yet in that short time he seems to have been fascinated with the city and its history. In later years, when he came to write his Reminiscences, he could draw on a fund of stories that he had picked up during his first sojourn in Limerick. It must be remembered that he was only thirty years of age when he took on the editorship of the *Limerick Reporter*, so it is not to be wondered at that, when offered the chance of a position on the more widely circulating *Cork Examiner* in March 1843, he availed himself of his new opportunity—though not without regret at leaving Limerick. His superior officer in the new venture was John Francis Maguire. His association with the *Cork Examiner* was to be shortlived. He remained only for six or seven months, yet some of his most notable journalistic work belongs to this period. His graphic reports of O'Connell's Repeal Meetings in the Southern Province were regarded as second to none ; as a matter of course, Lenihan's reports were copied into the *Nation*, Davis's paper, which had been founded only the previous autumn. Many years later when Lenihan was an old man, he returned to Cork for the Fr. Mathew centenary celebrations. He recalled with pleasure that, on the occasion of this visit, he was still remembered and cordially received by his former colleagues of the *Cork Examiner* after his absence of nearly fifty years.

A few words on his friendship with Fr. Mathew will not be out of place here. We learn from the obituary memoir written by his son that : " It was during his short stay in Cork that he formed that close intimacy with the apostle of Temperance which lasted until Fr. Mathew's death. He was one day at a dinner in Cork to which Fr. Mathew had been invited. Before dinner a few young men mentioned to him that they had taken the pledge. He was rather shocked at what he considered their inconsiderate promise. But Fr. Mathew spoke a few words to him of the good he could do to others and of the reward he should have for his sacrifice. The inspiration came ; then and there Lenihan knelt down in the drawing-room of his host and took the pledge, to which he remained faithful to his death. He always spoke of Fr. Mathew in words of veneration and never missed an opportunity on the platform or in the press to assert the moral and social benefits of his principles." The foregoing account is true in the main, if we change the place and the time. Lenihan met

*For Part I see September 1946 issue.

Fr. Mathew for the first time at a dinner given by his godfather Bishop Foran of Waterford some years previously. We know that Fr. Mathew and Maurice were already fast friends before Maurice arrived in Limerick in 1841. In the Lenihan Correspondence in the National Library there is a letter with the signature missing but which can be recognised at once from the Reminiscences as having been written by Fr. Mathew. It would appear that sometime towards the end of 1840 a man named Kempston, the proprietor and editor of the *Clonmel Advertiser*, made a scurrilous attack on Lenihan, and the outcome for Kempston was a sum of £300 damages and costs. It is unnecessary to inquire into Kempston's political views. He seems to have held more advanced Tory views than was customary among other Tory journals. The wretched man foresaw ruin ahead of himself and his family if he were forced to pay up. He got the bright idea of writing to Fr. Mathew to use his good offices with Lenihan to forgo what was his due and offering a most humble apology for his misrepresentations of Lenihan's character. Fr. Mathew immediately wrote to Maurice, and of course Maurice generously gave up all claim against Kempston.

FOUNDS THE " TIPPERARY VINDICATOR "

In the late autumn of 1843 Lenihan left Cork to found a newspaper of his own. Nenagh was to be the scene of his new labours. He had been prevailed upon by many people in public life, including the Bishop of Killaloe Most Rev. Dr. Power and Daniel O'Connell, to found a newspaper of his own in the repeal interest, and Nenagh had been suggested by them as the place most in need of such a paper. It is necessary to recall once more that Lenihan was now only thirty-two years of age, and yet his success as a journalist was such as to be acknowledged by men like O'Connell. ' The setting up of the Repeal paper at Nenagh was heralded in advance by a meeting of the " merchants, clergy and inhabitants of Nenagh held on Friday evening November 18th 1843," at which the following resolution of confidence in the new proprietor-editor was passed : " That Maurice Lenihan Esq., from his long experience at the press, his high public character and acknowledged ability, is eminently qualified to undertake this task . . . . and that we take this opportunity of tendering to him our entire confidence, support and co-operation, fully assured that the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring counties, to whom his name is long familiar, will evince a no less ardent zeal to sustain him ".' O'Connell too, in a toast to " The Press " on the occasion of a dinner given in honour of William Smith O'Brien at Limerick early in December, gave his support to the new venture :—

> We have the best and the worst press in the world. The Unionist party sets up a liar in a town, and immediately the necessity exists for the other party to set up a truth-teller. As to the City of Limerick, " The Limerick —— " is the greatest

liar that could be. I have known that liar for the last forty-six years, and it lies as fresh now as the first day. If you want to circulate a falsehood, there is no more convenient medium than " The Limerick —— ". At Nenagh they have " The Guardian of Lies ". A more wicked or malicious print does not exist. I am happy to tell you there will be a *vindicator* soon in Nenagh which will upset the falsehoods of the " Guardian of Lies". The clergy and people will be avenged for the slanders perpetuated against them and for the falsehoods with which they are libelled. A particular friend of mine, a young gentleman whom I hold in high respect, is about to edit that paper in Nenagh. He is a credit to the city which produced him, as he will be to the town of his adoption. He possesses claims on our consideration and support : no man deserves them better. No man is better calculated to effect the object which he is about to take in hands. If he did not possess pre-eminent claims, I would not say it.

The role of vindicator, which O'Connell indicated for the new journal, gave Lenihan the idea of its title ; so he decided to name his new paper the *Tipperary Vindicator*. Its policy was to comprise two big issues of the day : (1) The disestablishment of the State Church and (2) the repeal of the Act of Union by constitutional means. Then, while preparations were being made for the establishment of the new paper, Maurice was married on the 29 November 1843 to Elizabeth Spain of Nenagh in the parish church of St. Mary's. It may be remarked, in passing, that he apparently did not live in Nenagh itself for a few years afterwards, as the names of none of his children are on the baptismal registers of St. Mary's.

It has just been said that Lenihan adopted, as a primary aim of his newspaper, the Repeal of the Act of Union by constitutional means. By this time it was already apparent that a brilliant group of the younger generation within the repeal movement were not content with O'Connell's *constitutional* policy. The Young Ireland group were pessimistic of O'Connell's ultimate success and were becoming more and more outspoken on their divergence of outlook. It might have been expected that Lenihan, who was of the younger generation, would have thrown in his lot with what came to be known as the Young Ireland group. Rightly or wrongly, however, he chose the plan outlined by O'Connell and vigorously defended *constitutional agitation* as the best means of furthering the repeal of the Union. He held openly by O'Connell's policy and wrote strongly against what he believed to be a ' policy of impulse, uselessness and risk'. He was a pacifist in outlook, but this does not mean that his outlook was peace at any price. We shall see later that he showed fighting spirit when principles were involved.

To return to the foundation of the *Tipperary Vindicator*. Early in the New Year 1844 Lenihan received a letter from O'Connell encouraging him in the work he had just undertaken. This letter was specially treasured by Lenihan, and for many years it was to be seen framed in the offices of his newspaper after he had transferred business finally from Nenagh to Limerick.

MERRION SQUARE
20·1·1844

MY DEAR LENIHAN

I was extremely sorry that I have allowed the pressure of any business, even the trials, to prevent me from writing to you sooner. I did not know how to excuse myself. You may, however, be assured of this that my silence was not occasioned by any want of regard for you or any doubt of your qualifications to conduct a public newspaper. I am perfectly convinced of your trustworthiness in every particular, and if I could in any way forward your view with respect to the establishment of a Liberal paper at Nenagh, you should have my best assistance. You know that such a paper is exceedingly badly wanted there. You have a regular Tory liar established in that quarter, and it is absolutely necessary for the public interest that there should be an organ of truth and sincerity to contradict the mischief and to expose the falsehoods of the Orange rag—for that is the proper name to give it. I trust that you will obtain, as you certainly deserve, the entire support of the Catholics and of all the liberal Protestants of the neighbourhood. I know you well and long and know that you deserve the confidence and support of all the friends of civil and religious liberty.

Believe me, my dear Lenihan,
Very faithfully yours
DANIEL O'CONNELL

LENIHAN AND THE YOUNG IRELAND PARTY

When the cleavage came between O'Connell and the Young Ireland Party, Lenihan chose to remain on O'Connell's side. His inborn sense of fairplay, however, did not allow his friendships with the members of the Young Ireland Party to undergo any change. He could see, too, that the popularity of O'Connell was already on the wane ; and yet his political convictions were such that he refused to change over to the party which now was coming into favour—especially in Tipperary. He describes O'Connell's last journey to Derrynane through Nenagh :—" O'Connell reached Nenagh about 2 p.m. Here he was met by Tom Steele and Maurice Lenihan and by a few other friends, who gave him a hearty welcome. A crowd gathered about his carriage, but it was not such a crowd as had collected on former occasions of his visits to the North Riding of Tipperary. There was very little enthusiasm, no fervour, none of the spirit of former years—a sort of silence pervaded all. The work of mischief had been done by the new party." When O'Connell reached Limerick on his journey home, he was too ill to go to pay his respects to the Bishop, as had always been his custom ; so he deputed Lenihan and another gentleman to do so on his behalf.

Of Honest Tom Steele Lenihan has much to say in the Reminiscences and especially during his years at Nenagh. He had known Steele, of course, since the brave days of the tithe-war. " I had frequent opportunities," he says, " of meeting Honest Tom in after life, and I became one of his most intimate friends. He spent many of the latter days of his life with me, when I had occasion to perceive how thoroughly earnest he was and how

perfectly chivalrous and disinterested in all his public proceedings." Poor Steele seems to have been quite crazy during his last days. To Lenihan's embarrassment, he insisted in driving Maurice out every morning during his visit, in a carriage decorated with placards and bunting. Even when O'Connell's shares were falling, Honest Tom always made a strong personal appeal of his own. Maurice devoted much time during this last visit to get the unfortunate man to express some belief in the principal mysteries of revealed religion, reasoning with him that so many Christians throughout the ages could not be in error while only a few faddists of the French Revolution were in the right—but all in vain.

It would be impossible on such an occasion as this to trace fully Lenihan's association with the Young Irelanders. He tells us in the memoirs that he only heard Davis speak at a public meeting, but never made any personal contact with him. He was introduced to Mitchel at a dinner of the " 82 " club, but the matter ended at that. But he seems to have known personally, over a number of years, every other Young Irelander who came into prominence. He had many memories of the rising of 1848. In that year he took residence in a house in Chapel Lane, Nenagh. This house was later known as the " Rebels' Den " because James Stephens spent some time in hiding here after his escape at Ballingarry. It was in this house that Michael Doheny received hospitality from Lenihan, who was now his political opponent. Let us hear from Lenihan himself the story as it is recorded in the Reminiscences :—

> Doheny was arrested for a violent speech at Roscrea and was brought before the Rt. Hon. Francis Aldborough Prittie, D.L., who resided at Corville and who, after taking information against Doheny, committed him for trial at Nenagh Gaol. A strong escort of the 34th Foot conveyed him to the County Gaol of the North Riding. As the carriage turned up Peter Street, there was something like the desire for a rescue, but his guards were too many and the prisoner was committed to the custody of the gaoler.
>
> Early next morning he sent me a note to the effect that Mr. Prittie was prepared to take bail for his appearance at the next Assizes of Nenagh. I went to Roscrea and Edward Stephen Egan of that town came with me to Corville, where Mr. Prittie received me with the utmost courtesy. We drove back to Roscrea, where bonds of £100 each were made out at Smallman's Hotel. This was 15 July 1848. About 5.30 that evening Michael Doheny walked out of the gaol at Nenagh with Mr. Laffan a solicitor of Templemore and the present writer, cheered to the echo by thousands who had assembled about the prison, whom he addressed in a strong and eloquent speech.

At the conclusion of his speech Doheny paid this graceful tribute to Lenihan :—

> I will now bid you farewell, but before I conclude permit me to take this opportunity of expressing my warmest and most sincere thanks to Mr. Maurice Lenihan of the *Tipperary Vindicator*. I sincerely thank him. The moment he heard that the charge against me was bailable, he proceeded to Roscrea to enter himself as my security and only this moment has he returned. My gratitude is the more

intense towards him because he and I have differed on political matters and differed somewhat bitterly too. But with a generosity and nobleness of heart which have established for himself and his paper a high character and which have caused him to be respected most by those who know him best, he was the first man to enter my cell in that prison above and stretch the hand of friendship towards me and offer himself as my bail.

From Lenihan himself we get the remainder of the story: "He dined with me that evening at my house in Chapel Lane and then left. He hurried out of Nenagh, after addressing some words outside the town and some of the local clubs . . . . the O'Meara and the Fulton in particular . . . . which were dissolved a few weeks afterwards. [These clubs, O'Meara and Fulton were respectively named after the Parish Priest and Protestant Vicar of Nenagh in 1798]. That night he went on towards Templederry, and thence he proceeded to Cashel on his way to Slievenamon. Later, £300 was offered for his capture, but he had fled the country and gone to France." Lenihan and Egan both forfeited their bail. After Doheny had escaped to France he was made the target of many calumnies in the press of the day. Nasty names like spy and thief were bandied about, but Lenihan put a stop to the despicable campaign by coming forward and defending Doheny's reputation. Doheny wrote to Lenihan from Paris thanking him for the splended vindication of his character.

Thomas Francis Meagher was a very young man when Lenihan first made his acquaintance in the hey-day of the Repeal Movement. He was impressed by the young man's enthusiasm and verve, and he records in the Reminiscences that he published in the *Tipperary Vindicator* young Meagher's first political speech—not for the value of the speech itself but simply to encourage the youth. When Meagher was sentenced to death at Clonmel in September 1848, Lenihan visited him in prison the same evening and spent many hours with him in the condemned cell. Happily the sentence was commuted to transportation to Tasmania, whence Meagher escaped to America. "Before Meagher left Ireland," writes Lenihan, "he gave me his portrait and several other mementos; and since his arrival in America, where I know he will attain still higher honours, he has written me several most friendly letters. If I were asked to state my first impressions of all the Young Ireland leaders, I should unhesitatingly ascribe the first place to Thomas Francis Meagher as the most enthusiastic patriot, the most gifted orator, the most single-minded and amiably disposed young man I had ever the good fortune to know."

In the same autumn of 1848 Lenihan was a witness for the defence at the trial of Terence Bellew McManus, and on the evening of the latter's conviction he was invited by the men under sentence of death to attend a special supper which had been allowed them by the authorities of Clonmel Gaol. After the supper, when Lenihan was about to take his leave, he was presented by McManus with some autographs for himself and a few

friends : " To ——, as a token of respect from a convicted traitor, who notwithstanding is still true to his native land."

Fr. Kenyon, a native of Limerick city and the Parish Priest of Templederry in 1848, was one of Maurice Lenihan's harshest critics. His attacks upon the policy of Lenihan's newspaper are in strange contrast to Michael Doheny's defence, which we have just noticed. But again, Fr. Kenyon and Maurice Lenihan remained friends in private life. In general, Lenihan did not judge men by their politics, and his political opponents in the Young Ireland movement realised this. After the failure of the '48 rising, the Young Ireland leaders were mercilessly assailed by the Tory press. When the release of William Smith O'Brien was mooted, some of the diehard newspapers returned to the attack by stating that O'Brien (who was a Protestant) had determined on the total extermination of Protestantism in the country. Lenihan's able pen, however, speedily put an end to the slanderous campaign. It is possible that many of the Young Ireland leaders were glad that Lenihan continued as an O'Connellite, for by doing so his influence was all the more felt.

Lenihan Finally Settles in Limerick

In the late autumn of 1849 James Rutherford Brown, the founder of the *Limerick Reporter* under whom Lenihan had worked six years previously, offered his business for sale. Hitherto there was not sufficient opportunity for Lenihan to start a newspaper of his own in Limerick, as the city had enough newspapers to meet all political tastes. Besides that, in the days prior to railways and telegraphs, Nenagh had been a better centre for communication with Dublin. The new methods of travel and communication, however, cancelled out any advantage that Nenagh might have possessed over Limerick. Lenihan now decided to buy up the *Limerick Reporter* and amalgamate his own paper with it. After the purchase and before leaving Nenagh for good, he reassured his newspaper readers at Nenagh and in the surrounding districts that the *Tipperary Vindicator* was not going to disappear but that, while preserving its identity, it should add to its stature in being joined with a city newspaper. The amalgamated journals would be published simultaneously in Nenagh and Limerick. In spite of the new double name of the paper—*Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator*—Limerick folk always referred to it as the *Reporter*, while the Tipperary folk admitted only the name of the *Vindicator*.

The new offices at Limerick seem to have been situated in Denmark Street. They were in Denmark Street, at any rate, some years later when a disastrous fire occurred which involved the lives of seven people. Lenihan refers to this accident in the last chapter of his *History*. His new residence was at 2 Patrick Street, and he was to live there for the next seventeen years. It was at 2 Patrick Street that he wrote the *History of Limerick*. When Maurice and Elizabeth Lenihan came to Limerick, they had a

family of two sons and two daughters—Anastatia, James, Maurice and Mary. Five other children, all girls, were born in Limerick. Their names were Margaret, Elizabeth, Ellen Agnes, Harriet Patricia and Anne. It seems that the youngest daughter, Anne, died in early childhood, as no reference to her is found in family letters of the period when the children were growing up.

Glancing at random through the files of the *Limerick Reporter* of the early 'fifties, one cannot fail to be impressed by the reading matter provided by Lenihan for his customers. He believed that as a journalist he had the special mission of giving his subscribers information not merely of a passing nature—the news of the day—but of providing them with information of the kind that endures. All through life he seems to have possessed an uncanny sense for discovering men and matters that make history in their day and forever. Thus we find in an issue of his paper one week-end of 1852 the full text of Cardinal Newman's *Second Spring*. There it appears, this masterpiece of limpid English by one of the greatest masters of the language. The lectures of Cardinal Wiseman appear by weekly instalments just as they left the Cardinal's pen. For many years he gave generous space in his columns to aspiring poets; and when good verse was not forthcoming from Limerick or the vicinity, he regaled his readers with good verse published elsewhere. Some of the earliest ballads and religious verse of Michael Hogan (Bard of Thomond) found hospitality in Lenihan's paper, and it is reassuring to Limerick men to know that in later years when Hogan, mellowed by the years, laid aside his enmity for Lenihan, he began to contribute verse to the *Limerick Reporter* again. Some of the earliest of the poems of John Francis O'Donnell also found a place in the same paper.

Lenihan was scarcely three years settled in Limerick when he decided to enter public life as a member of the Municipal Council. At the elections in November 1853 he was successful in the old Patrick Street ward. The Patrick Street ward was merged the following year in the Customs House division under an act of parliament which overhauled the whole system of municipal representation hitherto prevailing. With the exception of a couple of years about the middle sixties, when he found it necessary to relinquish his seat in the corporation in order to complete his History of Limerick, he represented the Customs House ward division from the winter of 1854 until the winter of 1887—when, owing to old age, he decided not to seek re-election. The story of Maurice Lenihan during the fifties and up to the middle sixties of the last century, has for its background the events that he himself has recorded for that period in his *History of Limerick*.

To be continued

FRANCIS FINEGAN

REVIEWS

Biography

LORD SHREWSBURY, PUGIN AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL. By Denis Gwynn. London: Hollis and Carter. 1946. 10s. 6d.

Genius fascinates, but like the sun in the zenith its fascination blurs what it irradiates. It has been so with the Catholic revival in England which appeared at one time to culminate in Newman's conversion. This single event bulked larger in people's minds than the more deeply seated forces set in action by the restoration of the episcopacy and by the Irish exodus to England in the forties. Since Wilfrid Ward wrote his great biography, the historical balance between the various groups—the new hierarchy, the "poor Irish" and the Oxford converts—has been redressed. In the work of Bernard Ward, continued in Mr. Denis Gwynn's valuable series of biographical and historical studies, the personal influence of Milner, Wiseman, Ullathorne and Manning and the weight of Roman organisation and of vital statistics have been justly ascertained.

There remains a fourth group, the old Catholic aristocracy; and Mr. Denis Gwynn, having raised his main edifice, now turns to its embellishment, filling a few niches with statuary from their number. Architectural statuary is wont to be of two kinds. It is either allegorical in the fashion of the Renaissance or it is expressive or even grotesque in the Gothic manner. Perhaps because his subject-matter includes the Gothic revival and his three chief sitters, John Talbot the 16th Earl of Shrewsbury, Ambrose Phillipps the Squire of Grace Dieu manor, and Pugin their architect, were protagonists of neo-Gothic, their effigies take on a Gothic originality that borders on the eccentric. Or perhaps it was merely English, sharpened by isolation to characteristics which supplied Newman and Disraeli with notable pages. Their singularity at all events adds piquancy to Mr. Gwynn's narrative without any subservience on his part to a modish approval or depreciation. Mr. Gwynn maintains his accustomed cool, dispassionate judgment in a full and candid treatment.

Pugin by dint of genius comes well through, and readers familiar with Ferrey and Mr. Trappes Lomax will find additional pleasure in meeting him again in relation with the other two. The plan of Mr. Gwynn's book excludes any sight of his Irish work. Piquant sauce was not lacking here either, but should not divert from the real merit of Pugin's building in Killarney, in Co. Wexford and elsewhere in this country. It is not easy to estimate his entire professional capacity by reason of his diverse interests and the extravagance of his character, though extravagance is hardly the right word because he fused his ranging mind to a frenzy of concentration—not always, however, on architecture. Son of a Swiss, he was in many respects more English than the English. In the age of Ruskin, Swinburne and Carlyle he exercised the liberty of free speech as abundantly as they and with equal fury. With him every detail was a point of honour. He was ready to die for principle and for every principle. His industry was ferocious, his scholarship considerable and not drawn from books, his invention fertile and his architectural vision grandiose; but he was reluctant to admit evident discrepancy between it and the resources of most of his clients. He had an ideal client in Shreswbury, if the good Earl's substantial fortune were equal to his generosity.

Ambrose Phillipps, like Shrewsbury, was a generous but not so wealthy landowner, and his devotion to theology and liturgy showed itself in a precocious childhood. He became a Catholic as a schoolboy, as early as 1824; and when barely of age inverted Belloc's famous epigram by converting to his own faith the Rev. George Spencer who had hoped to convert him. He founded a Trappist monastery in Charnwood Forest which Pugin helped to build, and when Shrewsbury attempted to dissuade him into something more missionary and obviously useful, the Earl

found himself like Fr. Spencer under Phillipps's persuasion committed to another similar enterprise. His friendship with the Passionist Fr. Dominic Barberi had its unforeseen event at Littlemore. It was he who brought Fr. Dominic to England as well as Fr. Gentili, Hogan's earliest Roman friend who now rests beside him in Glasnevin.

Shrewsbury was Phillipps's close friend and confidant, but he looked with preliminary disfavour on all these Italianate projects. It speaks much for the placidity of his temperament that he could remain the friend of two reckless intransigents. Politics made a common ground with Phillipps, and the same enthusiasm for the medieval ideal held all three. Mr. Gwynn's pages show the indispensable support lent most generously by Shrewsbury to church building. He has also excellent pages on his curious mixture of Tory politics and Catholic progaganda. Phillipps retained the friendship and admiration of Montalembert, but regarded Montalembert's democratic sympathies as a calamity. Shrewsbury, on his side, was a *grand seigneur*, courteous, gentle and generous. He lived for choice in the plainest apartment of his fantastic palace of Alton Towers. Outside his cell his life, when it was not exercised in munificence, was a perpetual recovery from shock. Dr. Gentili was unsuitable, Fr. Dominic was simply impossible, Wiseman was tactless, Newman imprudent, the Irish bishops were the fosterers of anarchy after the famine, O'Connell and Lucas were, of course, simply deplorable and were the enemies of the religious reunion in Ireland which was to flow from the Irish High Church movement and out of which Ireland would become " the La Vendée of the British Monarchy and a nursery of conservatism ". The truth was, as Mr. Gwynn says, " the good Earl " had neither the temperament or the gifts of a leader ; but when the Duke of Norfolk seceded after the letter from out the Flaminian Gate, Shrewsbury found himself for a moment the lay Catholic spokesman for the English laity, and at that moment his loyalty was steady and his speech clear.

Mr. Denis Gwynn has added an admirable chapter to English Church history which will be read attentively in this country.

C. P. C.

FROM HUNTING FIELD TO CLOISTER. By M. M. Xavier Gwynn. Dublin : Clonmore & Reynolds. 1946. 8s. 6d.

I CLOSED this book with memories of Kickham's *Knocknagow* lingering in my mind. Both books carry us back to pre-cinema days ; days of some eighty years ago when, in Ireland certainly, the word family suggested " home "—as a nursery of pure love, not as a subject for cheap stage witticisms. Charles Kickham's words " there are many happy homes in Tipperary yet, but Knocknagow is gone " kept repeating themselves as a wistful refrain. Is the quest for pleasure and excitement so growing in our Ireland to-day that the poet's line " None love their country but who love their home " (Coleridge) is forgotten as home becomes a mere halting place from the round of pleasure ?

At any rate we sincerely hope that this little book (there are only 157 pages) will find its way into every Irish household, and beyond ; and we can promise the reader that the invigorating air of the hunting-field and the ideal atmosphere of " Temple Mungret ", where the heroines' early joys were found, will freshen up the noble ideas which may have become languid in his mind and will make him understand how the Cloister can offer a richer hunting-field than that opened out by following a mere pack.

In 1845 Michael Ryan, already proud of his sailor adventures at twenty-one, " for love of his mother made the sacrifice of his chosen career . . . . and joined his brother Edmond in the family business of Ryan Brothers, Limerick." Five years

later he married and, after the birth of four children (of whom death claimed two), he built Temple Mungret, where five more children completed the picture of a perfect home. One of them, Julie, lets us peep at it : " We children were brought up very simply, and consequently the simplest amusements delighted us. A Christmas Tree was Fairyland, and was looked forward to by us and our circle of child friends, as they all had the same upbringing. We were like one big, happy family on these occasions—the Coopers of Cooper Hall, the Monsells of Tervoe and the Stockleys of Cragbeg . . . . we went to visit one another's homes, and charming country homes they were . . . . At 8 p.m. we kissed our parents and retired to the Oratory for the Rosary . . . . When all the servants attended and when Mother gave out the Rosary so devotionally. The Rosary was the foundation of family life in Ireland, then " (pp. 8, 9).

The two sisters, Eugenie and Bertha, whose lives form the theme of the book, grew up in Temple Mungret, " came out " in Temple Mungret, and in the hunt were prominent on their Temple Mungret blood mares.

There are two parts to the book. Part I gives the story of Eugenie, huntress, social queen, sought after in marriage, but pledged from her school days to become the bride of the Lamb, a secret withheld even from the Father and Mother she so loved, so as not to mar the happiness of the two years she calculated spending at home, by the idea of a great parting in the background. This part of the book, the life of Eugenie, might fittingly be called 'Radiant Love', while the second part, the development of Bertha, might be called ' Love in the Making ' : so do the sisters, Eugenie and Bertha, unfold their lives before us.

In 1872 Eugenie entered the novitiate of the Holy Child Congregation at St. Leonard's, to be professed under the name of Mother Aloysius. She had a wonderful influence, we are told, over seculars of all classes, and priests would encourage would-be converts to visit her. The following impression of one of these callers reveals Eugenie as love radiant " I first saw Mother Aloysius when I spent a week at Cavendish Square to prepare for my reception into the Church. . . . . From the first my heart went out to her. Her quiet dignity, the sweet peacefulness of her expression, her beautiful smile of welcome, and especially the supernatural atmosphere that seemed to surround her, all made her my ' ideal nun'." (p. 49) Another says : " Heaven lay about her, as about children ; that is why she always made one think of flowers and children and angels."

Bertha had a longer wait, a wider experience of " life ", having traversed the globe, before she could knock at the Convent door to join her sister. " She was a welcome addition to the little party of postulants as she was bright and cheerful." Though liked by the children whom she taught, she was not what is called a classroom success. The reason appears in these words of one of her novices—she was novice mistress for 15 years—" She seemed singularly blessed with a very even disposition, and yet one instinctively felt that with her, as with so many saints, this was the result of constant self-control rather than natural temperament. She always seemed to be holding herself under restraint " (p. 98).

A special interest is added to this book, as it comes to us in guise of the last testament of the saintly soul, the author, Mother M. Xaxier Gwynn, who, having followed Eugenie and Bertha into the Holy Child Congregation, has just joined them (February 26) in the Kingdom to which the pure virtues of childhood lead.

Mother Xavier has brought to her task the literary charm which one might expect from a daughter of Mr. Stephen Gwynn, and that spirit of gentleness found in an invalid whose sufferings have been hallowed at the foot of the Cross.

G.B.

HISTORY

THE MEDIEVAL PROVINCE OF ARMAGH 1470–1545. By the Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. Dundalk: Dundalgan Press. pp. xi+287. 21s.

SOME of the best historical work of recent years is to be found in the introductions to historical documents, and Father Gwynn's new book is a case in point. It is, strictly speaking, an introduction to the unprinted Armagh registers which now bear the names of the primates Octavian, Cromer and Dowdall, and it gives clear and full analyses of their contents. But the author's description of it as a commentary on the registers is misleading in its modesty. With each entry of the registers Father Gwynn weaves all the relevant contemporary documents. This gives him occasion to discuss many sources besides the registers. To take but one example, there are two valuable pages on the writings of archdeacon Rory O Caiside. But it also enables him to reconstruct, not by guess-work but documentarily, a succession of episodes during the years 1470–1545. Such is his skill that there results a tapestry of ecclesiastical life, factual and at times vivid, yet woven throughout from source material.

In some cases sufficient detail can be collected for human characters to stand out plainly. The rather pathetic figure of Archbishop Cromer takes on increasing definition as Father Gwynn takes us through his register. But in all cases the method followed has the merit of presenting history as it was made, by the activities of men who were ignorant of future developments and of the generalisations which would be imposed on them by later writers. So the three letters of Primate Kite tell us far more of the mind of that ecclesiastic than all discussions about the worldliness of the sixteenth century or the growing *mystique* of royalty. Or, to take an example of a wider issue, every historical essay on medieval Ireland stresses the separation of the clergy *inter Hibernicos* from those *inter Anglos*. And naturally enough almost every incident in this account of medieval Armagh, with its primate and archdeacon at Termonfeghin and its dean and chapter at Armagh, illustrates the truth of that conclusion. But first one incident and then another shows also that the fact of separation is not the whole truth. The ecclesiastical order did not simply follow the political, for at times the Holy See was able, as in the case of appointing Primate Octavian, to override on a canonical issue the desires of the King of England. Indeed the meeting of the provincial council, every third year under Octavian, was itself an occasion which prevented the racial division from becoming a practical schism. And there are one or two examples to show cooperation on less than episcopal levels, as when Dean MacCawell, a prelate *inter Hibernicos*, was joined as arbitrator with two gentlemen of the Pale in settling the affairs of the convent of S. Mary's Termonfeghin, which was *inter Anglos*. These are of course exceptions to the general rule. But now that the rule is known, historical knowledge of this side of ecclesiastical life in Ireland will grow by studying the exceptions, and Father Gwynn's reconstructions will be a source for such study.

Rather more than halfway through the period covered by this book Henry VIII instituted his new experiment in religion. In consequence the incidents here related show us the ecclesiastical life of one province of the Church on which came the impact of the changes for which the sixteenth century is chiefly remembered. In most histories the early part would be called the eve of the Reformation, and everything would be arranged to explain the accusations and defences of later years, or to show why the Reformation failed or succeeded. But Father Gwynn propounds no thesis at all, and in what relates to the earlier period he makes the reader forget that a violent alteration is about to come. These men go about their business without knowledge of the future—as in fact they must have done. It is true of course that much disorder is apparent, for the basis of the story is the work of those who were

the guardians of order. The usual causes of trouble, ambition, greed and lust of power, could easily be exemplified. But incident after incident shows also that a real effort was being made to reform matters by a steady application of Canon Law. That attempt is apparent, somewhat surprisingly, in many of the appointments made by the Roman Curia of the late fifteenth century. It is clear in such cases as the effort by Bishop O'Daly and his canons to restore the traditional Divine Offices in the cathedral church of Clonmacnois. It seems to have been steadily pursued by the capable primate Octavian. Equally these records bring out the many difficulties which often defeated efforts of reform. There were the Rome-runners, securing from the papal curia a title to benefices for which they were unsuitable ; there was the established customary patronage and control of the princes ; there was the use of Irish benefices for English rewards ; there was always the great impediment to medieval reform, the financial disorder and insufficiency. In all this question it must be remembered that the Armagh registers are primarily the record of canonical processes, and the reconstruction of the events from them must emphasise legal action and so exaggerate its incidence. Father Gwynn points out on two or three occasions the directions in which further research is necessary before a balanced picture of ecclesiastical life can be completed. But making all allowances for the nature of the evidence, it is clear from this book that matters were improving in the province of Armagh at the end of the fifteenth century. Primate Octavian's rule was very different from that of Primate Swayne fifty years earlier.

From the time when Henry VIII repudiated the authority of the Holy See the pictures reconstructed by Father Gwynn become more continuous in action. All the documents which come from London are directed to effect the monarch's purpose, and all the rest are related either to resisting it or evading it or are records of submission. But they have to be collected from a wide field—from Scotland, from Rome, from Spain, from the records of the Society of Jesus, as well as from England and Ireland. As a rule the accounts which historians give of this early period of the Reformation are very disjointed. Here, surprisingly, they form an intelligible sequence and we can understand what the actors were aiming at and why. Without forgetting the author's skill of presentation, we must attribute this in part to the centre of reference chosen. On this ecclesiastical province of Armagh Henry's actions in these years had one aim—to secure recognition of his newly-claimed authority. So consistently was this sought that all the traditional Catholic unity was brought step by step into the work of opposing it. So there was first the local resistance of the dean and chapter and the archdeacon ; then the opposition of the parliament of Dublin ; then the attempts, of which Bishop Rory O Donnell was the centre, to get help from the King of Scotland ; and finally the direction of these forces by the Pope. The assembly of all the material—the recently published letters of James V of Scotland and the Armagh records and the papal bulls of appointment—enables Father Gwynn to piece together a coherent story, from which it seems clear that Paul III acted at this time with much more vigour and intelligence than is usually recognised.

Here as elsewhere Father Gwynn refuses to generalise in any way, save to call the period years of confusion as indicating the state of men's minds. It might be permissible to suggest an aspect which is seldom noticed and which stands out in this very factual account. The abbé Constant has accustomed recent students to think that a large number of the clergy were Henrician from the first and thought that the king's attempt was only a schism such as the middle ages had often known. But these documents go to show that the first phase in Armagh—a short one in many cases—was of a great shock to conscience and a refusal to accept the new teaching, or to have anything to do with it. Subsequently the behaviour of these clerics was not unlike those of England, and it is at least possible that there was a

similar short phase of this kind wherever Henry's scheme was heard of. Indeed, if we put with the Armagh evidence the English statute (25 Hen. VIII c. 14) which affirmed that the clergy taught the people that it was heresy to repudiate papal authority, and the Scottish references to the king of England's religion, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that most men at first regarded the change as doctrinal and not disciplinary. Many of them of course soon persuaded themselves—and the abbé Constant—that it was only, at the worst, a schism. And this seems to have been true of most of those even who were appointed by the Pope to the Irish sees specially to resist Henry's claims. By an ingenious but very probable emendation of one of the entries in the 17th century copy of Dowdall's register, Father Gwynn shows that even Bishop Rory O Donnell accepted in 1541 the authority of Archbishop Cromer who was suspended by the Pope but supported by the King. For the moment the latter had won completely in the province of Armagh, even though it was but for a time.

This conclusion modifies a thesis of Professor Dudley Edwards in his *Church and State in Tudor Ireland*, and it is as well to see clearly where the difference lies. Most of the bishops appointed by the Pope in these years eventually surrendered their bulls to the King and thereafter received his support or tolerance. Dr. Edwards maintained that this surrender was merely that of medieval custom in connection with the restitution of temporalities, and particularly required in the case of papal provision; it left the bishop in communion with the see of Rome. Father Gwynn insists that the surrender was now the symbol of the new claim of Henry and was equivalent to a repudiation of the Pope. Certainly the legal meaning of the act of surrender at this time needs investigation. Possibly both king and bishops knew that it was ambiguous and were not unwilling that it should be so. But the real difference of opinion of the two scholars lies elsewhere than this act of surrender. Dr. Edwards requires proof that a bishop had taken the oath of supremacy before he puts him out of communion with Rome—and he shows how little proof there is in most of the alleged cases. Father Gwynn on the other hand accepts many kinds of equivalent evidence besides the surrender of the bulls, for instance the acceptance of Archbishop Cromer's authority after the Pope had suspended him. And in view of Paul III's action in that case and of Henry's mandate for the consecration of Dowdall, addressed to "bishops in whose fidelity we confide," it is clear that both Pope and King accepted equivalent proofs of loyalty and disloyalty, and that therefore Father Gwynn has good warrant for his conclusion.

In a gracious preface Father Gwynn thanks his printers. Readers whose eyes have suffered from war economy standards will welcome these pleasant pages with their neat setting and handsome margins.

W. E. BROWN

THE PROGRESS OF THE JESUITS (1556–79). By James Brodrick, S.J. London: Longmans. 1946. 16s.

IF we have had to wait six years for this fine sequel to Father Brodrick's *The Origin of the Jesuits*, the thought of the patient industry that has gone to its making should reconcile us to the delay. Not that this industry obtrudes itself; the lightness of Father Brodrick's touch deceives the delighted mind. Only after limping through some of the pages of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* on the crutch of an indifferent Spanish can the reader appreciate fully the use he has made of them and the charm of his unlaboured translations. Father Brodrick has breathed on long-dead bones, and it is men of flesh and blood who walk again in his pages. The heroine of *Northanger Abbey* could not be interested in "history, real solemn history", and there are many like her in this fiction-ridden age. They should be introduced

to Father Brodrick. " I read history a little as a duty ; but it tells me nothing that does not either vex or weary me. The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars or pestilences on every page ; the men all so good for nothing and hardly any women at all, it is very tiresome ; and yet I often think it odd that it should be so dull, for a great deal of it must be invention." In this book are some at least of the ingredients that the good Jane regarded as the content of history, and much more beside, but without a trace of the dullness which she feared. Every page is a prop for the adage that truth is stranger than invention.

Here indeed are the quarrels of popes and kings ; and willy-nilly the Jesuits were drawn into them. Laynez, first general after St. Ignatius, had all he could do to save his Society from being ground between the upper and the nether millstones of the fiery Paul IV and the proud enigmatic Philip II ; his successor St. Francis Borgia would shorten his days on a fruitless embassy from a saint—Pius V—to a thorough scoundrel—Charles IX of France. Wars there were too ; wars without the walls against the Turks—eight Jesuits were with Don Juan at Lepanto and his crucifix standard was given by him to the college of Palermo—and, within the walls, wars among Christian princes and lords. Those early Jesuits on their tireless travels, Nadal and Canisius and the rest, watched ruefully the first kindlings of the fires of nationalism over whose ashes Europe sits huddled to-day. Profoundly international or rather supra-national in spirit, they fought a rearguard action for the idea of Christendom. They lost ; but they must have nodded in approval from heaven when four centuries later National-Socialism found their brethren " unworthy " to serve in the German army.

As for pestilences, they are here in plenty ; for the gilt of the Renaissance covered but thinly an underworld of misery, disease and crime. " Wherever there is a soul in need, there is a Jesuit's appointment " said Nadal to his fellow-workers. That appointment carried them to the hospitals, the prisons and the galleys ; not even as the envoys of popes and kings did they feel themselves exempt from its fulfilment, and their martyrs of charity vie in numbers with their martyrs for the faith. None of the innumerable Jesuit fables is more scandalous than that which accuses them of " caring only for the rich ".

" The men all good for nothing " said the spinster Jane. The heroes of this book—and they are legion—are quite the reverse. They were in sober truth good for everything. Laynez could go as principal theologian with Cardinal d'Este to the Colloquy of Poissy, could teach the tramps of Trent their catechism in the intervals of expounding theology to the assembled Fathers, could govern an order which was breaking new world-trails to the East and to the West. Salmeron, his friend and colleague at Trent, who had been papal envoy to Scotland, Ireland, Germany and Poland, thought it no loss of dignity to handle a pick in fortifying Rome against Alva or in laying the foundations of a college at Naples. Founding colleges and teaching was their trade, first by circumstance and then by choice, and they became the schoolmasters of Europe. Within thirty years the college of Clermont, bloody but unbowed after its famous struggle with the University of Paris, had 3,000 pupils under its Scots Rector Father Hay. Papal diplomacy carried others of the brethren to Mary Queen of Scots, to the courts of Sweden and of Ivan the Terrible (may we hope that Father Brodrick will spare another page or two for Possevino in his next volume ?), to the Maronites in the Lebanon, to the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria at Damascus, to the Copts of Egypt and to the fabulous Prester John. This latter story of heroic failure in the lands of the Negus, centred around the lonely lovable figure of Andrew Oviedo, takes much of Father Brodrick's precious space. But it deserves it. If there be any truth in Bloy's remark that " our hearts are full of angels when they are full of afflictions ", then the whole nine choirs must have sung in Oviedo's heart in the remotest fastnesses of Abyssinia. Father

Brodrick adds a footnote to this episode of failure telling us that the Jesuits, in the person of Pedro Paez, came back with more success to the attack. It may be of interest to note here that they are now back again—this time from Canada—still busy about " Prester John's Business ".

" Sir, we cannot take on the whole world " protested a harassed provincial to the Viceroy of Goa. But these men did their best. " At Home " in Europe, Nadal (in many ways the hero of this book) tramped and rode, in perils often, from college to college, ensuring that the genuine spirit of Ignatius would inform every least member of that fast-growing body. The Society of Jesus owes him an unpayable debt ; and with it the post-reformation world. Yet, when sick and sixty, he would, if he had his way, have left the Diet of Augsburg and gone as chaplain with the Emperor's army against the Turks. It took the combined efforts of two saints—Francis Borgia and Peter Canisius—to restrain him. Their own colossal labours for the Counter-reformation can only be outlined by Father Brodrick in what he calls his " cramped and crowded pages ". May his attractive sketch of Canisius, " so sweetly human, so near to us in his world-ranging compassion ", send many of his readers to the more spacious pages of his great biography of the saint. As for St. Francis Borgia—who, in spite of the greatness and vileness of his family name and blood, was " one of the sweetest, dearest, noblest men our poor old world has known "—would that Father Brodrick could find time amongst his labours to place his full length portrait beside those of Bellarmine and Canisius. In treating of St. Robert Bellarmine, the author can do little more than wave a modest hand to " the 939 pages already devoted to him in the English language " and add some recently published juvenilia of the great and kindly controversialist. Nor can he allow more than a thumb-nail sketch to Suarez, the frail, the indefatigable, sure now of his chair in the world's academy though once rejected for stupidity by the Rector of Salamanca ; showing him to us as he built through laborious days that strong bastion of learning about whose base the tide of theological battle still ebbs and flows. Here too are recorded the first desultory snipings of another battle—that of mystical prayer—which has since been endemically with us and for which it is safe to prophesy that only Gabriel's trumpet will sound the last cease-fire.

Overseas the far-flung Jesuit line stretched from Japan through China, India, Africa, Florida, Mexico, Brazil and Paraguay to Peru. How that line was manned remains one of the mysteries of human effort and endurance. Even four hundred years after, it still wrings the heart to listen to the appealing cries for helpers from those outposts at the world's end. A mystery too—but this time one of Providence—is the number of those eager helpers over whose heads the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific closed ; to go down to the sea in ships in those days was indeed to dare death. Time, alas, allows Father Brodrick to salute only for a brief moment the more heroic of those mission giants as they stand silhouetted against the sunset glow of martyrdom.

If there is a fault in this magnificent book, it is of the heart not of the head. No one should object to the skeletons which Father Brodrick brings tumbling out of long-forgotten cupboards. But he shows towards those dusty exhibits a pity which—*ut minus amans dico*—the grave disobedience of their fleshly days might make less tolerant. For grave disobedience it was in spite of the treacly letters of undying esteem for superiors which accompanied it. Father Brodrick's admirable kindness towards the man out-of-step seems to blind him at times to the distinction—a vital one and no less necessary to a religious order than to an army—between the man who is footsore from the road and the man who deliberately marches right-left when the rest of the column is marching left-right. Superiors even more than subjects must be grateful to him for his constant recurrence to the theme of the kindness that is to be shown by superiors to those " under " them ; popular conceptions

notwithstanding, the Society of Jesus is less, far less, a military organisation than a " company of love ". But for the contumacious disturbers of that love Ignatius prescribed in his constitutions a drastic remedy—they were to be cut off from the brethren as if they were infested with the black death itself ! Had bitter constraint and the favour of princes not prevented the applying of that vigorous remedy to the malcontents, the story Father Brodrick has to tell would of a certainty be less piquant ; but it would of equal certainty recall even mightier triumphs than it does towards the building up of that Body which is the Church.

The author himself confesses to many sins of omission in this book. They are there, and the reader will account them grave or slight according to his own predilections and prejudices. But he should in fairness remember that they are in some measure unavoidable in the episodic mould into which Father Brodrick has chosen to throw the vast raw material of his work. From the same source too comes a slight fault of emphasis almost as difficult to avoid. If the saga of the captains leaves the author little space for the dull diary of the infantryman (even that sturdy foot-soldier St. Stanislaus Kostka can claim only two lines), the wise reader will not forget that the exploits of the Jesuit commandos were built on the hidden work of hundreds behind the lines at home. At their desks, at their prie-dieus, in their classrooms, in their kitchens, these unknown soldiers lived their undistinguished days, heroic only in the monotony of faithfulness ; while with periodic hope they weighted the Roman postbag with applications for China and Peru. One of the most fascinating parts of the second volume on Nadal in the *Monumenta* is the appendix of short autobiographies of those lesser Polancos. " In collegio romano et nella casa romana et in Ingolstadio ha fatto servitii de casa, et, adesso è cuoco " is the modest battle-record of one Alessandro Cololino of Florence. Only a shade more exciting is that of the priest Jodochus Carcineus, " auss dem hohen Teutschlandt ", to whom St. Ignatius himself prophesied his entrance into the Society. He helped the sick-poor, he baked altar-breads, was cook to Father Canisius (who " was very easy to please "), kept the door, was minister at Ingolstadt, taught grammar and Christian doctrine to small boys, was number one preacher in the country and number two in the towns, and tried his hand at writing but didn't think very much of his efforts. Jodoch and Alessandro are but two of the loyal thousands known only to God. After such lives the Lord must have been more lenient than even Maidonatus in the reckoning of their purgatory. And anyway they have all been canonised in the person of Saint Alphonsus Rodriguez.

D. O'S.

BAPTISM IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS OF APHRAATES, THE PERSIAN SAGE. By Edward J. Duncan.

THE CONCEPT OF MARTYRDOM ACCORDING TO ST. CYPRIAN OF CARTHAGE. By Edelhard L. Hummel, C.M.M.

Washington : Catholic University of America. 1946. Pp. 158 and 202.

THE high standard set by the earlier issues of the " Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity " is well maintained in these later publications—Nos. 8 and 9. Here again we have examples of careful scholarship combined with an objective evaluation of the issues involved. The imposing bibliography which both works carry, and the wide range of opinions that are brought to bear on the more abstruse and erudite points, are evidence of the thoroughness which both authors brought to their work and to which they have added the further merit of an orderly arrangement of matter and a lucidity of exposition which makes the development of their theses readable and easy to follow.

H

The subject of No. 8, as the title indicates, is the doctrine of Baptism according to Aphraates. Mr. Duncan does well to introduce us to it by fixing for us, as far as the available evidence allows, the general outline of that shadowy milieu which is the background of Aphraates' teaching, and indicates the political and literary influences which have contributed to the moulding of his thought. Of particular interest and importance, in connection with the study of Aphraates, is the fact that he represents a type of Christianity almost purely Oriental. The East Syrian church to which he belonged, separated as it was politically and culturally from the Roman-dominated lands to the West, remained outside the sphere of Roman-Greek influence in the evolution of its religious thought, and was untouched by those controversies which agitated the less remote communities of Christendom and led to the definitions of Nicea, Ephesus and Chalcedon. Thus the writings of the " Persian sage ", with their pure Syriac idiom, their exclusive reliance on Scriptural authority, and their rich symbolism are at once the sign and expression of his peculiar environment. Even if it remains an open question as to whether Aphraates had not been influenced in some measure by some few works of non-Syrian origin, the matter is of small importance and in no way affects the essentially distinctive character of his ' demonstrations '.

This distinctiveness in the work of Aphraates only serves to make more striking the harmony of his doctrine with that professed by other exponents of the early Christian tradition. If the mould of his thought is Syrian, the thought itself is, in substance, the common heritage of the East and West. By the apt collation of texts from writers so far removed from one another in time and locality as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Ambrose, Justin and Cyprian the essentially Catholic nature of Aphraates' teaching on Baptism is put in clear perspective by Mr. Duncan, and the student of dogma will find much that is of interest—especially in those Chapters that deal with the names and effects of Baptism (Chs. 1 and 5). From the Apologetic viewpoint, the chapters which deal with the ' recipients of Baptism ' is of peculiar interest and importance. F. C. Burkitt, who is supported by A. Harnack and G. Ficker, maintains that " in Aphraates, Baptism is not the common seal of every Christian's faith but a privilege reserved for celibates "; and again: " He (Aphraates) only recognises two grades in the Christian ranks, the baptized celibate (from whose ranks the clergy are drawn) and the unbaptized penitent ". This celibate Christianity is for Mr. Burkitt the expression of that peculiar evolution which the Gospel teaching underwent in the Syrian world and in which it was in opposition to the teaching of the Empire. " The Church of Aphraates ", he says, " like the Church of St. Athanasius, is the legitimate child of second century Christianity, but it has come by another line of descent and the cousins have not all things in common." Here is not the place to set forth the grounds for this remarkable conclusion. Suffice it to say that the principal internal source which is invoked by Mr. Burkitt is a passage in the Seventh Demonstration " on Penitents " and that the interpretation of this passage, admittedly obscure, depends largely on the meaning that is attached to the term " B'nai Q'yâmâ ", that is " Sons of the Covenant ". Mr. Burkitt considers that they apply to the entire baptized laity of the early Syriac-speaking Church who at the time of Baptism were obliged to undertake a life of celibacy. Mr. Duncan, while pointing out the inconsistency which this opinion involves on the part of Aphraates himself, presents his own solution which he supports with considerable skill. The B'nai Q'yâmâ were members of the laity who, like the hermits in the Western world, had undertaken special obligations at the time of Baptism. He writes: " In summarizing the findings of this Chapter, we may conclude that in the Church, as Aphraates knew it, the most clearly defined requirement for the reception of Baptism was that a man ' circumcize his heart of all evil works '. Every adult having the right intention, therefore, whether married

or unmarried, was eligible for Baptism. At the time of Baptism, however, the candidates were divided into two groups—those who wished to dedicate themselves to leading a life of asceticism, which of course included the practice of continence, and those who were to be content with the keeping of the Commandments ".

Edelhard Hummel in Number Nine of the series undertakes to give us " a comprehensive and detailed explanation of the concept of martyrdom " as found in the works of St. Cyprian, and the reader will, I think, agree that in this task, by no means easy or simple, he has acquitted himself very successfully. Among the major difficulties which he has had to face is the apparent indiscrimination which at times seems to obtain in Cyprian's use of the terms " confessor " and " martyr ", a fact which has led some authors to the conclusion that the terms are synonomous. This difficulty is dealt with in the opening chapter, in the course of which a very detailed and scholarly analysis leads the author to conclude that it is certainly incorrect to say that Cyprian uses the terms interchangeably.

In the first stages of his investigation the author is at pains to stress the necessity of disengaging our minds from the tendency to read into the terms " martyr " and " confessor " as used by the early Christian writers, the technical meaning which they later came to acquire, and the full import of the warning is clearly seen in the light of the subsequent analysis. It is seen first of all in the case of Tertullian, whose influence on Cyprian is acknowledged. With him the terms " confessor " and " martyr " are applied indiscriminately to those who have either sealed their faith with their blood or are preparing to do so. The difference which obtains in their use is one merely of emphasis, the term " confessor " stressing primarily the oral confession of faith made before a pagan magistrate, while that of " martyr " places the emphasis primarily on the torture and death suffered by such a Christian (p. 5).

A new development is discernible in the works of Cyprian, though even here the terms are still very far away from the specific and clearly defined meaning that they have to-day. Thus, unlike Tertullian, Cyprian never applies the term " confessor " to those who have sealed their profession of faith by death or who are destined to do so; for these the term " martyr " is reserved. On the other hand, the term " martyr " is not confined to those who have actually given their lives or have endured physical torture for the faith, but is extended to those who, though they died a natural death, had the will and disposition to die for the faith. In this connection the author summarizes the result of his analysis thus: " In Cyprian the concept of ' martyr ' as a rule implies the thought of death for the faith, while this is not the case with the concept of ' confessor '. It must be admitted, however, that the implication of ' death for the faith ' is sometimes more or less pushed into the background. This is especially true when Cyprian is primarily concerned with the question of reward for those who are close to martyrdom ".

L. O'G.

LA REVELATION D'HERMES TRISMEGISTE. Tome I, L'Astrologie et les Sciences Occultes. Par A. J. Festugière, O.P. Paris: Gabalda. 1944.

HERMES TRISMEGISTE. Tome I, Poimandrès, Traités II–XII; Tome II, Traités XIII–XVIII, Asclépius. Par A. D. Nock et A. J. Festugière, O.P. Paris: Collection Budé. 1945. Pp. liii+404.

EPICURE ET SES DIEUX. Par A. J. Festugière, O.P. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1946. Pp. xv+134.

One feels proud and privileged to review these important books. Father Festugière has for many years laboured with unremitting zeal in a field which exacts the highest qualities of scholarship. He has laboured successfully and with great distinction. Apart from the books listed above, he has eight other notable works to his credit and two translations—practically all of them, unfortunately, *épuisé*.

Towards the end of the Hellenistic period and under the Roman Empire there was spread throughout the Graeco-Roman world a number of ' revelations ' or systems of revealed religion which enjoyed great popularity. These revelations were attributed now to Greek (Orphics, Pythagoreans), now to Chaldean (Chaldean Oracles) but especially, at this time, to Persian (Zoroaster, Ostanes, Hystaspes) and Egyptian sources. The Egyptian source *par excellence* was the god Hermes, Thoth-Hermes or Hermes Trismegistus. His revelation, which was at once popular for the masses and philosophical for the few, was dispensed as oracles to all alike. The connection, however, of the god Thoth-Hermes with the revelation which went under his name is so slight as to leave his revelation almost indistinguishable from the many other contemporary systems. The dispensation of Hermes is, then, but another Hellenistic religion—an important one for us, however, both because of the quantity and variety of its written remains.

The materials for the study of what we may call Hermetism have been collected, studied and interpreted especially in the last fifty years or so. Apart from the fundamental work done in such collections as the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* and the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, great names are associated with this work : Reitzenstein, the Krolls, Boll, Wellmann, Lagercranz, Scott, Bousset, Dodd, Cumont and the Irish scholar Mgr. Patrick Boylan, whose book *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* (Oxford, 1922) is quoted with just confidence by Father Festugière. The field, however, is so vast that it was difficult to get a comprehensive view of a matter which was of prime importance to the general historian and the historians of sociology, science, culture and comparative religion. It was particularly difficult to get an adequate and trustworthy picture of the practice, as opposed to the doctrine, of Hermetism, of its use of astrology, magic and occultism of all kinds. This was the more unfortunate in as much as this side of Hermetism was the older and, at all times, the greater in importance.

Father Festugière with tireless energy has planned to remedy these defects, and here we have the first fruits of his labours. He has proposed to give a constructive interpretation of the whole of Hermetism, popular and philosophical, under the title ' *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* ' in two volumes, of which the first, dealing with popular Hermetism, is here under review. He has postponed the publication of the second volume, dealing with philosophical and theological Hermetism, until he will have translated and annotated the whole *Corpus Hermeticum* in collaboration with A. D. Nock of Harvard. Part of this work has now been published and is also under review. We hope that the second volume of ' *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* ' will soon appear.

The first volume, *L'Astrologie et les Sciences Occultes*, has a short preface and an entirely satisfying introduction to the whole of Hermetism and its background : Le déclin du rationalisme, Les prophètes de l'Orient, La vision de Dieu, Hermès-Thoth et la littérature hermétique. There then follow separate chapters on Hermetism and Astrology, Hermetism and the Occult Sciences (here specifically, the theories of sympathies and antipathies), Hermetism and Alchemy, Hermetism and Magic, Literary Fictions of a Revelation, and a Conclusion. There are three Appendices—one of them, ' Inventaire de la littérature hermétique arabe ', contributed by M. Louis Massignon of the Collège de France—and some Tables which will be of use to scholars.

A great weariness weighed on the minds of men in the second and third centuries A.D. ' On avait trop discuté, on était las des mots '. A mood of scepticism prevailed, and with it began a flight to the irrational, recourse to any revelation. And as prophets are the more respected the further away they are—*maior e longinquo reverentia*—both in space and time, men welcomed the revelations of the old distant and holy East.

Among other revelations from the East came that of Hermes, the Thrice Greatest, from Egypt. He was in fact the Egyptian god Thoth, whom the Greeks had identified with their own Hermes. Hence he is styled Hermes, Hermes-Thoth, or Thoth-Hermes. He is called Trismégistos, Trismegistus, Thrice Greatest, because of a conflation of the Greek and Egyptian methods of forming the superlative. The Greek changed the positive *mégas* (' great ') to *mégistos* (' greatest '). The Egyptians repeated the positive. In the conflation the Greek superlative was repeated three times—*mégistos kai mégistos kai mégistos*—and then shortened to *trismégistos* (' thrice-greatest '). In the beginning Thoth-Hermes was a secondary deity : he was only the ' secretary ' of the Gods. Gradually, however, his devotees extended his activities, and by the time of which we are speaking he was regarded by his clients as the creator of the universe and the prophet of that creation. His directions and revelations were enshrined in the Hermetic writings and were thus available always. Some of these writings were known well before the Christian era ; but it was not until after the beginning of the second century A.D. that they had any serious influence.

On the questions of the authorship of the Hermetic writings and the public for which they were intended, Father Festugière comes to conclusions different from those of earlier scholars. He gives good reasons for his belief that the authors of the *Hermetica* were men of Hellenistic rather than of Egyptian culture. If his rejection of Reitzenstein's and Geffcken's opinion on the existence of Hermetic confraternities is not entirely satisfactory (the reviewer quarrels with the use of ' *purement* ' on pp. 82 and 84) it is, on the whole, just. One notes with pleasure that the author is prepared to give full weight to the objections against his own position and that he is interested less in having something to defend than in seeking the truth.

It is not possible to give here an adequate summary of the chapters dealing with Hermetic astrology, occultism, alchemy, magic and the literary fictions of revelations. The reader will find a fine balance of evidence and interpretation ; a constant relation of the subject in hand to a full and clearly-drawn background ; some valuable reflective comments and asides (the remarks on Aristotle's method (pp. 193–196) are very penetrating) ; and much, finally, that will amuse him. He will find that the ordinary stock-in-trade of the Hermetic revelation was in no way different from many such revelations of the time.

The two volumes which form the second item under review are remarkable as a testimony to the integrity of scholarship. Here between the same covers we are given the long-sustained work of two great *savants*—sometimes differing with one another on a particular point, each being content that both views should be stated—and the comments and opinions of many helpers from many lands. The preface is written by A. D. Nock, who also established the text. Father Festugière confines himself to the translation and explanation. The subject-matter is part of the material on which Father Festugière's book previously reviewed is partly based. The arrangement of the notes is not convenient ; and until the final volume of this *Corpus Hermeticum* with its Indices appears, it will be difficult to make full and constant use of this valuable addition to the Collection Budé.

Epicure et ses Dieux is a grand little book. It has nothing to do with Hermes, though it has much to say of religion and a little about astrology. In this book Father Festugière writes with an easy style, well-supported by careful and full documentation, of the position of religion at the beginning of the Hellenistic era, of the life of Epicurus, of friendship among the Epicureans, of the religion of Epicurus, and, finally, of Epicurus and astral religion. The same fine qualities which we have noticed in his other works are seen here also. There is a masterful comprehension which is never mere theory but always related to facts.

The author's account of the conditions in which a cosmic religion—such as Epicureanism really was—arose is very valuable. One by one the factors which

tended to isolate the individual soul—to throw it back upon itself—are detailed before us. But it is the chapter headed " L'amitié épicurienne " which is, we think, of the greatest interest. The author has written this section with no little enthusiasm. It would seem that he too feels that friendship, love—call it what you will—is at least one force which can change the whole aspect of a grim ill-boding world. It was just this change that was experienced by the initiate to Epicureanism :—

" Me voici seul, il n'y aura là personne pour entendre ce que je vais dire. Croyez-moi, mes amis, tout le temps que j'ai vécu jusqu' ici a été plutôt mort que vie. Entre ce qui est beau, bien, saint et ce qui est mal, je ne faisais absolument aucune différence : si grandes étaient les ténèbres qui, depuis longtemps, pesaient sur mon intelligence, me cachant toutes ces vérités et les offusquant à mes yeux ! Mais voici qu'étant arrivé ici (à Athènes), je suis revenu à la vie pour le reste de mes jours, comme si j'avais fait incubation au temple d'Asclépios et qu'il m'eût sauvé : je marche, je parle, j'ai retrouvé l'usage de ma pensée. Ce soleil si grand et si beau, c'est maintenant, mes amis, que je l'ai découvert pour la première fois ; pour la première fois aujourd 'hui, je vous vois dans une lumière pure, vous et ce ciel, cette acropole, ce théâtre."

JOHN J. O'MEARA

POLITICS

THOMAS HOBBES : Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil. Edited with an Introduction by Michael Oakeshott.

JOHN LOCKE : The Second Treatise of Civil Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration. Edited with an Introduction by J. W. Gough. (Blackwell's Political Texts). Oxford : Blackwell. 1946. 8s. 6d. each.

IT is an excellent idea at the present time to make available for students and for the wider public adequate editions of the classical writers on political theory. Here we have two of them Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) and Locke's *Second Treatise* (1690), both associated with important periods of English history. These books are not always easy going for non-professional students, but notable assistance is given in introductions by expert scholars. What, we may ask, is the significance of Hobbes and Locke, first for their own times and then, in a universal way, for all time ?

On Hobbes there is likely to be much difference of opinion. Mr. T. S. Eliot speaks of him as one of those little upstarts thrown up by the Renaissance in its later phase. Mr. Oakeshott tells us, however, that " the *Leviathan* is the greatest, perhaps the sole, masterpiece of political philosophy written in the English language. And the history of our civilization can provide only a few works of similar scope and achievement to set beside it " (p. viii). This is a considerable and unusual claim. And Mr. Oakeshott tries to justify it, partially by the scale of Hobbes's work which sets political theory in a whole scheme of philosophy and partially by the fact that to him the *Leviathan* seems to be " the head and crown " of one of the " three main patterns which philosophical reflection about politics has impressed upon the intellectual history of Europe ". It is, he thinks, the supreme expression of the tradition which bases the State upon will and artifice.

I doubt if many readers will find Mr. Oakeshott's defence of his thesis very convincing. Even as compared with contemporary European theories, Hobbes's account of the State is one-sided, odd and paradoxical. One would like to know more than Mr. Oakeshott tells us of the sources upon which Hobbes drew. How much did he owe to Bodin ? Had he any genuine acquaintance with the theories of Bellarmine ? To tell us that his nominalism is related to that of the later scholastics is too vague. To refer us to " the Averroism of Scotus and Occam " is too obviously

inaccurate. Hobbes's relation to the controversies of his own time in England is clear enough. The dispute between the parliament and the king turned upon legal and constitutional issues. When it came to be argued on more ultimate political principles, the parliamentary writers appealed to the traditional view that government implied a trust or compact which, if violated by the ruler, justified rebellion, since power comes at the last from the people. As Sir Robert Filmer tauntingly said, they took their principles from the " crafty Jesuits". The official royalist theory was the Divine Right of Kings.

What is significant in Hobbes is that he meets the parliamentarians, as he supposes, on their own ground. Government being a compact, it is vital to ascertain of what precise nature the compact must be. He wishes to establish two conclusions: first, that rebellion is never lawful; second, that absolute monarchy is inevitably implied in the original contract. On the second point he wavers. He was a timorous man and the date of the *Leviathan* was 1651. But absolute monarchy is in the very logic of his system. To establish a unity of wills, all the separate wills must be reduced to *one* will by appointing one man or—as he adds with typical inconsistency—an assembly of men to represent them—" to bear their wills". This is done by a covenant or compact, which he undoubtedly regards as a historical event. It is a covenant of " every man with every man " not a covenant between the " multitude " and the ruler. The ruler is no party to it and, therefore, cannot violate it. The idea of such a historical covenant is entirely absurd, and the only problem is to understand how for quite a long period a theory so absurd could yet seem plausible.

Hobbes adds to the intrinsic difficulty of the contract theory by his account of man in the state of nature before he has come under the civilizing influence of the State. As opposed to Aristotle's view that man is by nature a political animal Hobbes makes him entirely selfish, dominated by a constant " desire of power after power that ceaseth only in death ". In the natural state the life of man is " solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short ". That such complete savages could come together to form a " covenant of every man with every man " is ludicrous. But here again he abandons his own theory and informs us that some of man's passions makes for peace and that there are intervals when reason becomes dominant—apparently at the same time in all or most men.

Hobbes makes an imposing show of logical system. But, as his rash incursion into mathematical argument showed, his logic is weak and faulty and he substitutes for argument a dour pugnacity. Although he argues for an absolute government, subordinating even religion to the State, he allows for curious exceptions. He has a forceful and vigorous style and occasional felicities of language, as when he speaks of laughter as " sudden glory " or refers to the Catholic Church as " the ghost of the Roman empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof ". Although this latter statement is nonsense, it has an illusory suggestiveness and no writer on Hobbes can deny himself the luxury of quoting it.

In the nature of the case Hobbes could have no school or party in the sense in which Locke is supposed—Lord Acton denies it—to have given a philosophy to the Whig party. Locke's political theory is designed to lead to the contrary opposite of Hobbes's. It is a justification, under certain conditions, of revolution and specifically of the revolution of 1688. There is, perhaps, justification for Lord Acton's view. Revolutionaries always implicitly suppose that their own revolution is final. They cannot entertain with equanimity the idea that other revolutionaries will succeed to themselves, and therefore they tend to settle down more comfortably with a conservative philosophy. Locke's influence appears more certainly, as Mr. Gough explains, in the American Declaration of Independence. Mr. Gough does not make such extreme claims for Locke's political theories as Mr. Oakeshott makes

for those of Hobbes. And yet it is clear that Locke's views have been far more influential. Locke, in fact, inherited through what he always refers to as " the judicious Hooker " some of the traditions of the Catholic philosophers. He contrives, however, by working them into the contract theory to change their scope and meaning. This is evident in his doctrine of " Natural Rights ", which he links up with the absurd view of the state of nature as prior to the political state. Again, as Mr. Gough shows, his theory of property is superficial. Locke is one of those thinkers who accepts the immediate and obvious solution, but seems to think nothing out. His style is clear but pedestrian. He lacks the vigour and individuality of Hobbes who, as Aubrey tell us, " would sometimes swear by way of emphasis ". Locke's appeal is to the man of commonsense who is satisfied with plain reasons and who would regard the deeper philosophical verities as paradoxical because he is unable to grasp them.

Revolution is justifiable, Locke urges, because the State rests upon a contract into which men enter to safeguard their " Natural Rights " of life, liberty and property. Here, no doubt, is the origin of those declarations of rights which seemed to give so much satisfaction to the revolutionaries of a later time and which roused the utilitarian wrath of Jeremy Bentham. The juxtaposition of Hobbes and Locke brings out, in a striking way, the weakness of the contract theory which is common to both. Their philosophical weakness lies in a lack of detachment. Their theories are too much enmeshed in the conditions of their own time. They select their premises to suit their conclusions.

D. O'K.

INDIA—A Re-Statement. By Sir Reginald Coupland. Oxford University Press. 1946. 12s. 6d.
MODERN ISLAM IN INDIA. By Wilfred Cantwell Smith. London : Gollancz. 1947. 15s.
CASTE IN INDIA. By J. H. Hutton. Cambridge University Press. 1947. 18s.

I HAVE before me three books which I have been reading in the hope of getting a clearer insight into the present Indian situation.

First is Sir Reginald Coupland's *India.* This is a re-statement in a briefer form of his three-volumed *Report on the Constitutional Problem in India.* It is a full, clear and dispassionate account of Indian political history in modern times, a most useful and reliable book of reference, which no student of Indian politics can afford to be without. Though the author has to deal with many controversial topics, he never becomes a controversialist. He presents his material in an obviously sincere and unbiassed manner ; in laying down the book, the reader does so with the conviction that Sir Reginald's objective is truth rather than propaganda.

One's reactions on reading Mr. Smith's *Modern Islam in India* are very different. It is true that Mr. Smith gives a warning in his Preface that he does not approach his subject with any pretence to impartiality. He confesses to writing his book with a strong socialist bias, and he candidly admits that his history is based on " assumptions ". The dust cover further warns the reader that Mr. Smith is a bold and frank anti-imperialist. Notwithstanding these clear warnings of prejudice, I persevered with the book in the expectation that I might have something to learn from a lecturer on Islamic history. I confess that I was disappointed. The chief impression which I carry away from the book is that Mr. Smith lives, moves and writes in a Don Quixote world peopled by his own " assumptions ". I find it impossible to relate this Don Quixote land of Mr. Smith's to anything I know of India.

The most important fact in the Indian political situation today is the division between Hindus and Muslims. Mr. Smith assigns two main reasons for the existence

of the communal spirit of which this division is the outward sign. The first reason is economic. Mr. Smith traces everything back to an economic cause. The great majority of the people, both Hindu and Muslim, are miserably poor; but there is a wealthy capitalist class which is mostly Hindu. The poor proletariat mass of the people are, naturally, in conflict with the capitalists who exploit them. Hence the Hindu-Muslim clash. The astute reader will notice that there is a *non sequitur* in this argument. If the great mass of the people, composed indifferently of Hindus and Muslims, are exploited, why should they fight each other instead of fighting the common enemy, the exploiting capitalists? To repel such a logical objection Mr. Smith turns to his second reason, British Imperialism, with its technique of communal electorates and its " Divide and Rule " policy. In his zeal for " assumptions ", however, he ignores the fact that as long ago as the Lucknow Pact of 1916 the Congress and the Muslim League agreed on separate electorates as part of their plan for communal peace. It is unfortunate for Mr. Smith's " Divide and Rule " theory that one who should know something of the subject, Pandit Nehru, should have stated to a Press conference on 27 September 1945 at Bombay that the Communal problem is *not* one created by the British. Mr. Smith in a fit of absent-mindedness—when he had, for the moment, forgotten that every event must have an economic cause—had actually stumbled on one of the main reasons for the Hindu-Muslim division. Here it is in his own words (p. 159): " To the Hindu every Indian who is a Muslim is an outcast out-caste, an Untouchable, with whom dealings must not be so intimate as to transgress certain formal rules. This exclusion is religious; but with Hinduism ' religious ' means ' social ' in a highly evolved traditional way ".

Here we leave Mr. Smith and turn to a consideration of Professor Hutton's excellent work on Caste in India. As might be expected from a former Commissioner of the Indian Census and the William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Cambridge, the book provides a very full and interesting account of the background and origins of Caste and a mass of detailed information on the structure, laws, sanctions and functions of the caste system in general and of many individual castes in particular. The general trend of the book is, however, to treat of caste as a system rather than to describe the separate castes which go to make up the system. It is a book on Caste rather than on castes.

Professor Hutton puts forward the theory that Caste has fulfilled a great unifying function in a unique way by integrating Indian society through the fusion of various competing if not incompatible groups—natural, political and tribal, as well as religious and occupational—into one community. Caste has been an integrator of peoples. In Europe and elsewhere conquered and subject peoples have either been absorbed by the dominant race or have remained as unadjusted and perhaps subversive elements within the nation. In India the diversity of race and origin has been maintained and each distinct group, without sacrificing its individuality, has been peacefully fitted into its own recognised place in the nation-wide system of Caste. The great flaw in this theory is, of course, the failure to absorb the Muslims. The Muslims have been in India for over 1,000 years and are still unabsorbed. Social changes of this magnitude are, however, of slow growth and who can tell what the next 2,000 years will bring forth?

The book is full of quaint and interesting information about little-known castes, such as the Purada Vannan, which is so polluting that the members are not merely " Untouchables " but " Unseeables ". They are nocturnal in their lives because the very sight of them pollutes, and they are, consequently, not permitted to move about by day. Then there are the Aghoripanthis, who feed on human corpses, and the various criminal tribes, who make some form of crime their hereditary tribal

occupation. Facts like these make us realise that, if there is much that is good in Caste, there is much that needs reform also.

Professor Hutton's book is assured of its place as a standard work on Caste.

F. C. K.

THE MEDIEVAL IDEA OF LAW AS REPRESENTED BY LUCAS DE PENNA. By Walter Ullmann. With an Introduction by H. D. Hazeltine. London: Methuen. 1946. 20s.

THE author tells us that the purpose of this book is " to reconstruct the main doctrines of the Neapolitan scholar, Lucas de Penna ", who was born about 1320, was an eminent juristic scholar, and whose work is particularly attractive because it combines harmoniously law with philosophy. Lucas de Penna had already attracted the attention of two recent Italian scholars, but a more complete study of his theories was needed. It may be said at once that Dr. Ullmann's book will be of great interest not merely to students of medieval law but to those who are interested in the wider subjects of medieval ethics and politics. Dr. Ullmann's enthusiasm for Lucas leads him, I think, at times to exaggerate his originality. But it is clear that he was a remarkable scholar and a thinker of considerable independence and power.

Professor Hazeltine, in an elaborate introduction, suggests that " of the whole complex of ideas which Dr. Ullmann has discovered in Lucas de Penna's writings " three are of " paramount importance : first, the nature of law ; secondly, the nature of the relations between the spiritual and the temporal powers ; and thirdly, the nature of secular government."

Dr. Ullmann's chapter on " The Foundations and Nature of Law " is, I think, the least satisfactory part of his study of Lucas de Penna. It is difficult to decide, on the basis of the information given to us here, how Lucas stands related to contemporary theories of law. I suspect that he is trying to reproduce the theory of St. Thomas. But in Dr. Ullmann's account there is considerable vagueness about the meaning of technical terms like *lex aeterna, lex divina, lex naturalis* and *jus gentium*. Some of this vagueness is, no doubt, present in the original. One would like to know more definitely in what sense Lucas regards the natural law as based upon God's will. Dr. Ullmann tells us that " natural law identified with divine law, therefore, is the direct expression and manifestation of the divine will ". If this is a correct account of Lucas's views, it would seem to bring him into some undefined relation with the voluntaristic schools like that of Scotus. This seems scarcely probable. For St. Thomas, law is always based upon reason—*ordinatio rationis*—and the eternal law is the plan of divine wisdom as directive of all actions and movements.

Dr. Ullmann points out that the opinion of Lucas about private property is noteworthy. The legal tradition based private property and slavery on the *jus gentium*. This tradition was accepted generally in the schools and brought into relation with the views of Aristotle. According to Dr. Ullmann, Lucas accepts the view that private property rests on the *jus gentium*, but holds that its actual distribution is inequitable. Slavery, he regards as an institution against natural law, since the author of liberty is God Himself. This departure from the Aristotelian tradition is of great interest—although, of course, it is not peculiar to Lucas.

On the problem of the relation of the spiritual and temporal powers, the *Sacerdotium* and the *Imperium*, Lucas defends the Gelasian doctrine that these two powers are independent, both coming directly from God. As Dr. Ullmann points out, Lucas's great contemporary, Bartolus, took the opposite view, the extreme *Curialist* position that the Emperor was inferior to the Pope both temporally and spiritually. It is remarkable that, in this controversy, Lucas makes no reference to

Marsiglio whose *Defensor Pacis* had appeared in 1324. It seems evident that the thesis of Marsiglio, the supremacy of the Emperor even in spiritual affairs, would have no plausibility for his contemporaries and that his importance comes largely from later historical developments. The suggestion, in a footnote in Professor Hazeltine's introduction, that St. Thomas defended the extreme Curialist view, is inaccurate. St. Thomas does not directly discuss the problem and his incidental references to it are not decisive.

Holding that monarchy is the best form of government and that the ruler derives his power directly from God and not through the people, Lucas may seem to have anticipated the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Although this is suggested by Dr. Ullmann, it seems more feasible to look for the origin of that theory rather in such works as Dante's *Monarchia* or in the *Defensor Pacis*. Lucas's theory has an entirely different significance. All Christian thinkers are likely to regard the right to rule as in some sense divine. It is in the deductions drawn from this principle that the peculiarity of the theory of the Divine Right of Kings consists. Such ideas as passive obedience and the absolute unlawfulness of rebellion do not follow from Lucas's theory. In fact Lucas regards tyrannicide as in certain conditions praiseworthy. Still he remains a definite upholder of monarchy, and he decisively rejects the common theory that the power of the emperor comes, through the *Lex regia*, from the people. Not merely administrative power but legislative power also centres in the monarch. The idea that the people, in any case, are fit to legislate he regards as ludicrous.

Lucas stands for the supremacy in secular affairs of the Roman Law. His suggestion that the punishment inflicted in secular courts should be reformative and deterrent rather than retributive is, for his time, remarkable. It does not, however, mean, as Dr. Ullmann seems at times to suggest, that Lucas rejects the retributive idea of punishment. Obviously this would have been entirely impossible for a Christian thinker in the fourteenth century.

D. O'K.

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHY WITHOUT TEARS. By Rev. Arthur Little, S.J. Dublin: James Duffy. 1946. pp. viii+128. 4s.

The wide circle of listeners who followed with interest and admiration these dialogues on philosophy, which Fr. Arthur Little, S.J., composed for Radio Eireann, will welcome the opportunity of recapturing his arguments again in book-form, and will hope that he will reach, through the printed page, an even wider and more attentive audience than he commanded over the microphone.

The use of the dialogue for philosophic discussion has a long and venerable history, from Plato to Berkeley and from Berkeley to Jacques Maritain. But, so far as I know, Fr. Little is the first to adapt the dialogue form to the broadcasting of talks on philosophy. Readers of this book will give the same eager welcome to his decision to employ the dialogue and to his masterly manipulation of it, as did those who listened to the scripts when they were broadcast.

The microphone has manifest disadvantages for the exposition of abstract thought. Time is severely rationed. The audience must be presumed not only to be of a terrifying heterogeneity, but also in a somewhat indolent mood. If the listener is not to turn his convenient knob to another station, the *dulce* must be blended with the *utile* in a degree to which philosophers are not notoriously addicted. To surmount these difficulties the dialogue is admirably suited. It provides that dramatic setting so valuable for radio-talks, especially when handled with the racy humour which Fr. Little brings to it. It has an additional advantage for broadcasting on which Fr. Little eagerly seizes: namely, that it permits the opposing points to be immediately made, the *riposte* coming hot on the heels of the thrust; thus fore-

stalling the impatience that a listener may feel if the objections that occur to him *currente voce* are not met as they arise, but postponed until the argument is completed.

In seventeen dialogues Fr. Little covers an amazingly wide field. Only those who have spent years in the study and teaching of philosophy will fully realise the arduous work of compression and expression that has gone to the fashioning of these entertaining and satisfying scripts, which cover the nature of intelligence, idealism, the problem of pain, evolution, free will, spiritism, psycho-analysis, and moral and political theory. It is not to be expected that the same standards of lucidity and profundity could be achieved in all the dialogues. I did not myself happen to hear the broadcast of Dialogue Three (on time and relativity) ; and while a perusal of it at leisure is fascinating and instructive, it is such hard going that I wonder whether even the skill of the Radio Eireann team could succeed in making it—to use the jargon of the studios—" radiogenic ". But, generally, Fr. Little's combination of simple and vivid language with profound and difficult thinking is entirely admirable. For example, what could be more effective than his summing up of the argument against the evolution of the human from the sub-human soul : " I might admit that a lady-bird could turn into a bird ; but I am perfectly certain it could never turn into a lady "(p. 48) ? Another example, out of many that might be indicated, is his happy illustration of the argument for the spirituality of the human soul. Professor Tom Plato (who is the Socrates of Fr. Little's dialogues) points out to his interlocutor that he has an idea of kindness in his mind, but challenges him to produce a representation of his idea in any material medium. The interlocutor accepts the challenge, takes a fountain-pen, and tries to draw a picture of kindness. But the best he can do is to draw a man giving sweets to a child. Professor Plato points out that this is a picture of a particular person doing a particular act of kindness, but not a picture of kindness *tout sec,* which is a concept entirely prescinding from particulars (p. 50). This is not only good philosophy ; it is admirable ' radio ' ; and the book abounds with similar instances.

If sometimes the argument is so rapid and compressed that it gives an impression of superficiality, Fr. Little may well claim to be in line with St. Thomas himself ; who, as he finely says in his Preface, often sets out an argument with just such a deceitful appearance, " when, on the wing of his logic, he glances at a side-issue, ... leaving the reader to gather and fill in the easier steps of his argument."

Fr. Little does not give his book to the public as an introduction to philosophy. He tells us that he does not even regard it as a fair presentation of the strength of his own opinions nor of the opinions he opposes. He deplores the handicap under which both he and his opponents labour, but submits that the handicap is at least equal on both sides, just as in the chivalrous institution of the three-legged race. His deprecations are unduly modest. Anyone who reads his book carefully, especially those who have some acquaintance with philosophical debates, will welcome it as a refreshing addition to the attempts to bring philosophic truth home to the layman. If philosophy cannot escape in an age of ' digests ', it is a blessing to have Fr. Little to compete with William James, Bertrand Russell, C. E. M. Joad or Julian Huxley. It is not Fr. Little who will suffer by the comparison.

A. H. RYAN

IS LIFE WORTH LIVING? By Fr. James, O.F.M.Cap. Cork : Mercier Press. 1946. 7s. 6d.

SEVERAL books outlining Christian philosophy for the ordinary man have recently appeared in this country. Without disparagement to the others it can be said that Fr. James's is probably the best. It owes its superiority to its construction. Its unity increases its interest. For here philosophy is considered from the point of view

of its central thesis, the End of Man. Whether as preliminaries or as corollaries this thesis enables the author to consider such other truths as the realism of knowledge (from the dynamism of mind and will), the existence of God, immortality, freewill, and morality. In fact it enables him to restore a measure of systematic coherence to an exposition of Thomism that is necessarily only selective.

Nevertheless the problems of giving philosophy to ordinary men is probably insoluble until philosophy is again recognised as an essential part of a liberal education. Fr. James is likely to agree on the wisdom of such recognition, for he rightly insists that it is through philosophy rather than theology that Christianity can influence industry, social institutions, and indeed every department of secular life ; but it can only do this if layfolk know philosophy. Meanwhile to write philosophical books for them entails a choice of defects in those books, since the avoidance of defects in meeting an insoluble problem is impossible.

Fr. James's choice is interesting. He takes a bold line and his qualities, with their necessary defects, are twofold.

(1) He bases his whole book on the principle of participation. This is indeed the central element of Thomism. It is the root of the beauty and inspiration of Thomism. It is the reason too why Fr. James's book is so moving. But it is not the fundamental doctrine of Thomism. It lacks power peremptorily to command assent when presented in isolation. In this book therefore, where there is hardly a mention of act and potency, it is persuasive rather than convincing.

(2) Fr. James writes in a determinedly literary style throughout. There is not even a compromise with scholastic distinctions and technicalities. As a result the book makes easy and alluring reading. But the expression of the thought frequently lacks precision. Towards the beginning the similes obscure even when they adorn, though there are one or two examples later of really illuminating imagery. The reader therefore will read and enjoy and understand much, but whether he will understand enough to learn and take away much philosophy from the book is not so clear.

The question, therefore, is whether a book like this should convince a few readers or interest many. The present reviewer attempts no answer ; but he thinks this book a very good book, worthy of Fr. James.

A. L.

THE NATURE AND UNITY OF METAPHYSICS. By Rev. George M. Buckley, M.M., M.A. Washington : Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. 276.

A CRITIQUE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD. By Rev. Leo A. Foley, S.M., M.A. Washington : Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. 180.

THE FORMAL DISTINCTION OF DUNS SCOTUS. By Martin J. Grajewski, O.F.M., M.A. Washington : Catholic University of America Press. 1944. Pp. 226. $2·25.

Fr. Buckley's account of metaphysics is very precise, very faithful to his Thomistic sources, and will be very illuminating in parts to any reader able to understand it. However his real business is to solve the problem of the unity of metaphysics. To express the problem briefly and simply I must depart far from his formidably technical terminology. Let us remember that there are three stages in the foundation of any physical science properly so called : (1) Pure metaphysics, the science of those laws of common being to which all reality is subjected ; this science studies things merely as fulfilling the conditions necessary to exist as beings. (2) Applied metaphysics, the other philosophical disciplines that study each object as this or that *kind* of being, but with the help of metaphysical principles. (3) Presupposed metaphysics or physical

science proper, which studies its object by its own proper methods, while recognising at the outset the fuller light that philosophy can cast on its nature and its subjection to metaphysical law. Now the problem is to determine the principles by which the limits of these stages can be assigned and their mutual distinction discerned and then to assign these limits.

Fr. Buckley does not attempt actually to assign such limits. But his principle for distinguishing pure metaphysics from applied is that anything is an object of metaphysics under the respect of its relations to its act of being. In other words when we are considering the conditions that an object verifying some particular possibility of being must fulfil in order to be able to exist or to *be* a possibility, we are considering that object metaphysically. The inclusion of the material cause of a thing in the object of metaphysics is a crucial instance ; for metaphysics is defined as the science of being that is as perfectly as possible abstracted from matter. The justification, nevertheless, of including the material cause in such a science is real. For when we have made our formal abstraction of being from all material conditions, we can recognise that the formality so abstracted can be subjected to the principles of act and potency. Further we can recognise that one thing out of many in the same species can only exist if it is constituted of a material potency. Hence being abstracted yet contains the principle of individuation by matter as a necessity of itself, of existence, in certain conditions, and includes it therefore among the principles of metaphysics. But as soon as we need sensible observation to advance in our knowledge of the object we enter the territory of applied metaphysics. Since cosmology and psychology require that our senses testify to the fact of the existence of mineral, and living and rational, bodies we are no longer in pure metaphysics but in metaphysics applied to the facts observed by the senses. Fr. Buckley may not have solved completely this urgent and live problem, challenging as it is to clear thinking in any science, but he has certainly made a valuable contribution to its solution.

These conclusions imply a criticism of Whitehead's philosophy. The error of all thinkers who make mathematical truth the ultimate criterion is the implicit rejection of the dependence of mathematics on metaphysics. The function of metaphysics is to reveal the nature of the object of mathematics as a being composed of form and matter made measurable and numerable by its exigency of a particular quantity. And unless this conclusion is at least implicitly accepted by the mathematician, he will not know precisely what he is studying or be able to justify mathematics as a real science concerned with real being. Once, however, he admits that he is considering being, he must acknowledge in all his work the principles of metaphysics. This is Fr. Foley's point when he concludes that Whitehead's main weakness is that his theory of knowledge is empirical and mathematical. But when Fr. Foley calls Whitehead an immediate realist, he is too kind. Realist he is, but he has attempted to take up a middle position between immediate realism and psychological subjectivism. This position depends on his characteristic doctrine that my personal organism or body is a part of the larger organism, the world ; hence, as I am aware of things in different parts of my body, I am also aware though more dimly of things in the larger organism of the world—at least as stimuli to which my experiences are responses. Fr. Foley would have found a penetrating analysis of this doctrine in Miss Dorothy Emmet's classical study of Whitehead, and I think it cannot be held that it avoids in any degree the character of mediate realism or psychological subjectivism. In general, however, Fr. Foley's exposition is accurate and informative. It will help to solve the problem whether Whitehead seems obscure because he is subtle or passes as subtle because he is obscure.

The last book is probably the best defence of Scotus's favourite device in metaphysics that has recently appeared. Its only fault is that it barely mentions the chief

philosophical problem to solve which the formal distinction was devised. It was devised to vindicate the truthfulness of the mind against the alleged challenge of Thomist abstraction. When St. Thomas denied any real distinction between a man's individuality and his nature yet contended that what the mind by itself knew of him was only his nature abstracted from his individuality, it seemed to Scotus that Thomas was confining the mind's apprehension to what could not possibly be true. Scotus was also averse to Platonic realism in universals. So to save the truth of the universal he proposed the formal distinction. The nature and its individuality were different formalities of the same reality, not really distinct because inseparable yet distinct before the operation of the mind by being determined by diverse quiddities not to be one another. To know the nature in abstraction from the individual is thus to know what is in reality (though not really) distinct from the individuality. Fr. Grajewski has defended this distinction from every aspect in a rousing, eloquent, learned, and enjoyable polemic. It is not his fault that he has failed to convince one reader that there is any legitimate difference between the formal distinction and the real metaphysical distinction of the Thomists. Also should not the Latin name of our famous Irish Scotist, Pontius, be translated not Ponce but Punch?

A. L.

Miscellaneous

THE PRIEST OF TO-DAY. His Ideals and his Duties. By Very Rev. Thomas O'Donnell, C.M. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1946. 10s. 6d.

Almost forty years have gone by since the first edition of this book appeared in 1909. Its author was then, and still happily is, President of All Hallows College, Dublin. Even in its first edition the book showed evidence of a singularly well-balanced mind, with judgment that commanded confidence as coming from one who had long experience in the art of educating young men for the Catholic priesthood and who was himself most obviously steeped in the best traditions of that priesthood. This seventh edition is proof that the book still serves its purpose well. Father O'Donnell could, if he so wished, add largely to these chapters from the accumulated experience of the past forty years. But he has preferred to let his book stand substantially unchanged—though there are everywhere signs of careful revision. This is naturally most marked in the Appendix, which contains useful extracts from Papal documents, brought up to date; and some very helpful suggestions for a course in modern Catholic literature.

There is a Foreword to this new edition which recalls sad memories of last year's Papal Consistory. Cardinal Glennon was a former pupil of All Hallows College, and there is no need to remind our readers of that sad home-coming when the late Cardinal's mortal remains lay in state in the Chapel where he had prayed as a young student. In his Foreword the Cardinal summarises the aims and achievements of his Alma Mater in words that re-echo the lessons contained in this book. "You evidently realize," he wrote in a private letter to Fr. O'Donnell which now serves as this Foreword, "the demand everywhere for priests, who can lead without being demagogues, who can be cultured without being conceited, who can be pious without being hypocrites, who can walk on the world's highways and yet keep their souls in peace". That is finely said; and there must be many hundreds of priests, now working in the United States or Australia or South Africa, whose lives correspond, more or less perfectly, with this high ideal; and who owe their first lessons in this priestly tradition to Father O'Donnell and his colleagues at All Hallows.

We hear it said now-a-days that there are countries where the priest finds it impossible, or all but impossible, to win listeners for his message of Christ's Gospel. Are we to accept discouragement as inevitable? Or are we to look for priests who know how to adapt themselves to a new world? Let Cardinal Glennon answer

that question : " Nations are withdrawing their pledges and are pleased to violate their concordats with impunity ; so that to-day the Church would fail altogether if it were dependent upon such doubtful help as the nations offer. All of which means that to-day the Church must turn back to herself, to her own children, and specifically to those who, partaking of the royal priesthood of Christ, will defend His Spouse and their mother. If there is to be that grand restoration—*instauratio omnium*—I fervently believe it must come through the priesthood, a priesthood endowed with the spirit of the great High Priest and equipped in all that makes for apostolic leadership as well as saintly living."

May All Hallows College long continue to supply this new and tormented world with priests such as Cardinal Glennon here describes ! Father O'Donnell's book has served their predecessors well for the past forty years : may it continue to help them and their successors to realise in their own personal lives an ideal that is embodied in the Person of Christ—" yesterday, to-day, and the same for ever ! "

A. G.

FROM THE REALM OF POETRY (*An Anthology for the Leaving Certificate and Matriculation Examinations*). Edited by Stephen J. Brown, S.J. London : Macmillan. 1946. 4s. 6d.

In their striving after knowledge infinite schoolchildren are generally reluctant to turn to appendices and prefaces for enlightenment. Hence Fr. Brown has done well in placing his biographies, comments, and explanatory notes in the body of the book, where they can catch the attention of even the least industrious eye. While the poems in this anthology are the choice of the Department of Education, the author has found scope for much excellent work in his notes and commentaries. Indeed, so thorough and detailed are the explanations that at times they appear over-elaborate for school use. Many teachers, however, will consider this a happy failing.

Notwithstanding Fr. Brown's statement to the contrary, a few pages on the general rules of English prosody could easily have been introduced and would certainly have made the book more complete. Then, too, the transition period from the Augustans to the Second Romantic movement might have been stressed and made more obvious. It would be well to remove the popular misconception that the Lyrical Ballads were a sunrise without a dawn.

The aim of this work, as expressed in the foreword, is to foster in the young an enthusiasm for poetry. In the main the book is admirably arranged to achieve this aim, though the strictures passed on Swinburne and the very restrained praise accorded to Shelley might dampen the ardour of any reader who is naturally attracted to these poets. It would have been better had the author contented himself with explanation, leaving the reader to pass judgment for himself.

The notes are reliable and very complete. Perhaps some few of the explanatory foot-notes could be questioned (e.g. " Il Penseroso " line 122 and " The Faerie Queene " line 69) ; but, generally speaking, the work is a model for school texts and should prove not unhelpful to many who have long since left their school days behind.

I. Q.

(*The list of books received has been unavoidably held over*)

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